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Portrait, in the Collection of Mrs. Charles Baird
Photo: Virginia State Library

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This, the earliest known posted letter from Fairfax County, was written in Leesburg on May 25, 1772 by George Johnston [not the Justice George Johnston of Winchester and Alexandria who died in 1766 but possibly one of his two sons] and handcarried to the Alexandria post office for a post rider going north. The colonial postage rates of Parliament on October 10, 1765 were made equal in value to the rates of sterling money of Great Britain. Thus, the British Colonial Postal Administration standardized sterling rates in terms of pennyweights (dwt.) and grains (gr.) of silver. The postage on the above cover to Philadelphia was 10 pence (almost one shilling) or 3 dwt., 8 grains of silver. The red mss. marking, 1/7, represents the equivalent of postage costs in local currency. During 1771 there were 16 post offices in Virginia, more than any other American colony. The next closest post office in 1771 to Alexandria was Dumfries. Leesburg did not have a post office until about 1793. The identity of the Alexandria postmaster during 1772 remains unknown.

**NICHOLAS CRESSWELL
AND
BRYAN FAIRFAX:
TWO LOYALIST VIEWS OF
REVOLUTIONARY ALEXANDRIA**

BY LAURA HIRSCHFELD
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[Ms. Hirschfeld's paper won first prize in the Society's 1976-77 historical competition.]

I. INTRODUCTION

Alexandria, Virginia, is not remembered as a town that remained loyal to George III at the time of the American Revolution. Rather, the mention of it connotes such famous revolutionary names as George Washington and John Carlyle and evokes incendiary town meetings at the Presbyterian Meeting House.

Nicholas Cresswell and Bryan Fairfax differed greatly in birth, background, education and outlook. Cresswell favored England's immediate concentration on the war in the colonies and punishment for revolt. He felt that the final authority over Englishmen should rest with the king. Fairfax was labeled a moderate; he favored Parliamentary control and attempted a reconciliation between the colonies and England. The two men differed in many points, yet both were called loyalists and treated as such. The experiential background of each men: his birth, education, vocation and station in life all affect his frame of reference.

Cresswell was an Englishman making a hasty trip to the colonies. He came from a bourgeois family, possessing little education. He had little experience or training in a trade other than assisting his father on the family farm.

Fairfax came from a family who bought their Scottish peerage from Charles I in 1521; he was the second generation of his family to live in the colonies. A son of a rich man, and a friend of George Washington, he owned several thousand acres of Virginia land and was well educated. The description sounds, with the exception of the title, not unlike several of the noted Alexandria revolutionaries. But there were certain very real and material facts binding him to England. His family's land, the Northern Neck proprietary, was originally granted by Charles II. He was an Anglican minister, answerable to the Church of England. Although he lived most of his life in the colonies, befriended many revolutionaries and participated actively in Virginia life, he still maintained an interest in remaining a British subject.

Cresswell returned to England after a short three years; Fairfax remained in Virginia, whether a colony of His Majesty's or a state of the Union. They are a good example of the diversity of loyalism in the state of Virginia. Every man in the thirteen colonies, loyalist or revolutionary, had his motives for his position. Inevitably, this position was shaped by his experiential background.

II. LOYALISM IN ALEXANDRIA: TWO VIEWS

A. *Nicholas Cresswell*

1. *Biographical Sketch*

The family of Cresswell came from Northumberland where they assisted their English rulers in fending off attacking Scots and maintaining the Castle Cresswell. A member of the family later moved to Chateau-en-le-Frith in Derbyshire. Ralph Cresswell, of Chateau-en-le-Frith, took a land grant in Edale in 1631 from the Trustees of the Corporation of London. His son, Thomas Cresswell, founded a school for the neighborhood of Edale and owned and farmed a large estate there. He was well-to-do by local standards and a powerful man in the district. A son, Nicholas, was born to him and Elizabeth Cresswell at Crowdon-le-Booth, Edale, in December 1750.

Nicholas was educated in his father's school and in the Wakefield grammar school. He worked helping his father on the farm until the age of twenty-four at which time he decided to go to America. He sailed from Liverpool in 1774 and returned to Edale in 1777. He died on July 14, 1804 at Idrighay and was buried at Wirksworth Parish Church.¹

2. *Loyalist in Alexandria*

Nicholas Cresswell arrived in America on July 11, 1774. George III was on the throne of England; his Second Parliament had ended on June 22 of that year.

Cresswell left his home in Derbyshire in hopes of applying some of the agricultural knowledge he had obtained working his father's farm to the broader opportunities available in the colonies, "sensible that a person with a small fortune may live much better and make greater improvements in America than he can possibly do in England. Especially in the Farming Way, as that is the business I have been brought up to."² Yet, he was an eldest son and would inherit a sizeable amount of land in England upon his father's death. When he left, his father had given him a "reasonable sum,"³ and we are led to believe that Cresswell did not expect more to be forthcoming from that quarter.

He hints at other reasons necessitating leaving England quickly: "a number of Cogent and Substantial reasons that rather oblige me to leave home, not altogether on my own account, but in the hopes it will be for the future peace and quietness of those for whom I shall always have the greatest esteem."⁴ Cresswell left home quite suddenly, giving his family and friends only a few weeks' notice.

He met with much opposition from them. On April 6, he wrote a lengthy entry in his diary, saying that he is pursuing "a desperate design—at least it appears so in the eyes of all my Friends....I have not one friend in all the world, to my knowledge, that approves of my proceedings. Therefore, I ought to act with the greatest caution and prudence."⁵

He describes the negative aspects of the project: he has little education, is brought up to no trade, is "ignorant of the deceits and knavery of mankind,"⁶ has no friends abroad, little money and a certainty of losing some of his rightful portion as eldest son. He lays down guidelines for his conduct. "First, to act honestly...and pay my debts. Second, not to be hasty in...making any purchase or engaging with anyone for any length of time"⁷ until he had studied the people, environment and polity of his new surroundings. "Thirdly,...to return as soon as I have made what observations I think necessary, and endeavor to go out on a better footing and live as frugally as I can."⁸

So Cresswell left England hastily with the intention of making his initial trip to the North American colonies one of observation and experimentation, and then to return to England to prepare himself more fully to establish permanently in America.⁹

Cresswell, during his three years in America, lodged mainly with a

Mr. Kirk, a shopkeeper in Alexandria and relative of a neighbor of the Cresswells in Crowdon-le-Frith. He spent his three years in America travelling, looking for farmland and, occasionally, doing errands for his host. For a short time he joined with a Mr. James Booker in making saltpeter for marketing. His lack of steady work, however, forced him to refer bills back to his father often.

Cresswell's journal documents his feelings regarding the political climate in detail. There was great danger, however, in writing too much; he was under close surveillance during much of his stay in Alexandria on suspicion of being a spy. As a result, he often employed anagrams to confuse the reader: "sgnik sdneirf", inverted, readed "king's friends", or loyalists. "Sleber" denotes "rebels". While in Philadelphia in September of 1776, he writes that he has no alternative: "If I stay among the Sleber, I must go to Liaj."¹⁰

It is first in October of 1774 that Cresswell writes of a climate of revolution. He mentions that there is no tea served at parties and in taverns, and that there are "committees...to inspect into the Characters and conduct of every tradesman, to prevent them from selling tea or buying British manufactures. Some have been tarred and feathered, others have had their property burned or destroyed by the populace."¹¹ He writes of the sitting of Congress and of companies being formed "training men as if on the Eve of War."¹²

Very few in Alexandria were vocal in supporting George III: "the King is openly cursed and his authority set at defiance."¹³ He felt that the New England colonies were persuading the Southern ones of the wickedness of the King's intentions towards the colonies in general. Whatever the case, he was convinced of the villainy of the rebels and the impossibility of their aim of overcoming His Majesty's army.

Cresswell, watching the beginnings of militia drill and the initial musterings, was skeptical about the colonies' ability to overcome His Majesty's forces. He suspected the rebellious Alexandrians of mercenary motives: "The people are ripe for revolt, nothing but curses and imprecations against her Fleets, armies, and friends. The King is publicly cursed and rebellion rears her horrid head. The people in this colony... are in general greatly in debt to the Merchants and think a revolt would pay all."¹⁴

A churchgoer, Cresswell found the colonial clergy disappointing. He describes them as lazy and too caught up in politics and secular things. In November of 1775, he notes that there was "no preaching here (in Alexandria), for people are too much taken up with war."¹⁵

"Went to a Presbyterian meeting," he writes later. "They are a set of

rebellious scoundrels, nothing but political discourses instead of religious lectures.”¹⁶

Cresswell’s condemnation of the political climate of the colonies did not include General George Washington. An Alexandria neighbor, Washington’s military feats were often discussed in that town’s circles. Cresswell praises Washington as a man and a general in a lengthy essay written in mid 1777. He concludes with the wish that he should not die in this war, “my enemy though he is.”¹⁷

In October of 1775, a letter to a friend expressing his loyalist sympathies a little too freely, was intercepted. He was travelling at the time, and the Council of Safety ruled that “the body of Nicholas Cresswell should be committed to the care of the Jail Keeper until he, the said Nicholas Cresswell, was fully convinced of his political errors.”¹⁸ This occurred without Cresswell’s knowledge of the interception of his letter. He was lucky in that a friend, a Mr. Thompson Mason (brother of George), interceded for him and offered the Council “any sum of money they choose to mention”¹⁹ as a guarantee that Cresswell would not leave the colonies for a period of six months. Cresswell agreed.

Mason again aided him in obtaining a pass to New York (those “under surveillance” were required to have passes going from colony to colony). Cresswell was daunted in his secret intention of escaping to Staten Island when a Presbyterian minister from Alexandria recognized him. Knowing Cresswell’s situation, he watched him closely, making any escape impossible; he returned to Alexandria within a month.

Again in 1777, Cresswell sought to leave, this time contemplating joining the British army. Mason gave him a letter of recommendation to the governor in exchange for a promise that he would not join the army, and Cresswell set out for Williamsburg.

His application to leave for Britain was refused. On May 2, he and a young man named Colin Keir, escaped to Point Comfort, Virginia and flagged down a British ship. Cresswell returned home to Edale on September 24, 1777.

B. *Bryan Fairfax*

1. *Biographical Sketch*

The proprietorship of the Northern Neck²⁰ in Virginia passed from the Culpeper to the Fairfax family through intermarriage. The Culpepers were part of the original group of patentees of the Northern Neck. In 1690, Katherine, the only legitimate child of the 2nd Lord Culpeper, married Thomas, 5th Lord Fairfax.

The Fairfaxes were a prominent and well established family in Britain. Ferdinando, 2nd Lord Fairfax, and Thomas, 3rd Lord Fairfax, both fought as generals in the English Civil War (1641-47), commanding Parliamentary Armies. Thomas, 6th Lord Fairfax, came to the Northern Neck in May, 1735, after certain disputes over the boundaries of his American property were settled. Further controversy arose in 1737, and he was forced to leave again. In 1745, the Privy Council ruled to grant him all the land for which he had contended. On leaving England, Thomas gave away to members of his family his life interest in Leeds Castle and his other estates in exchange for a "clear lifetime right"²² to The Northern Neck Proprietary. In 1752, Fairfax built Greenway Court in the Shenandoah Valley. His cousin William, land agent for him, built Belvoir Manor on the Potomac, a country estate after the English manner.

Thomas, 6th Lord Fairfax, died at Greenway Court in December, 1781. The title then passed to his brother Robert of Kent, England. A ruling of the Virginia Assembly in 1779 and 1792 prevented British subjects from holding Virginia lands, specifically those in the Northern Neck. Robert died in 1793, and the title devolved to Bryan Fairfax.

Bryan, the son of William Fairfax of Belvoir, was born in Westmoreland County in 1736. He was educated in Massachusetts. He learned business working in Barbados with his maternal uncle, John Clarke. He joined the Virginia Militia in 1756. He built a house prior to 1768 at Towlston Grange, near Great Falls, Virginia. In later years he built Mount Eagle, near Alexandria.

He initially ignored the Fairfax title when it devolved to him in 1793, feeling that it had little meaning. However, on a later trip to London in 1798, he had a change of heart and claimed the title in the House of Lords. In May of 1800, he became Bryan, 8th Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron.

Fairfax lived the rest of his life at Mount Eagle and died there in April 1802. He was buried at Ivy Hill Cemetery in Alexandria.²²

2. Loyalist in Alexandria

In settling in Virginia, the Fairfax family was primarily interested in obtaining land. The family title came from Charles I; the family fortune came from quitrents. Thomas Fairfax realized this in relinquishing his British land holdings in favor of his Virginia ones.

Bryan Fairfax, an impulsive youth, resigned his commission in the Virginia Militia in 1757 in reaction to an unhappy romance. He fled north, going as far as Maryland before returning home just in time for

his father's death.

Fairfax had his first religious experience while in the militia. Required to stand sentinel, he wrote: "As soon as I was alone, I kneeled down and determined not to rise, but to continue crying and wrestling with God until he had mercy on me."²³ His desire to enter the clergy remained with him; in 1777, he wrote his friend George Washington of this desire, saying that it was of long duration, and that he had too long suffered wordly considerations to interfere. Ordained a deacon in 1786, and an Episcopal minister of the state of Virginia in 1789, he later served both Christ Church in Alexandria and Falls Church.

Besides his life as a churchman, Fairfax enjoyed all the benefits of the Virginia landed gentry: hunting, visiting and often riding the two miles from Mount Eagle to Alexandria for a dance or party.

Fairfax took a moderate view of the colonial conflict with British. He felt that Parliament could be persuaded to allow colonial representation. He felt strongly, however, that the authority in question was Parliament and not George III. In 1774, urged to run for the House of Burgess, he excused himself saying that he was not in accord with the majority of his fellow Alexandrians and was therefore inadequate to represent them. He attempted to persuade Washington to his point of view and received this reply:

I would heartily join you (in your political sentiments) so far as relates to a humble and dutiful petition to the throne, provided there was the most distant hope of success. But have we not tried this already? Have we not addressed the Lords and remonstrated to the Commons? And to what end? Did they deign to look at our petitions? Did it not appear...their is a regular, systematic plan to force slavery upon us? Do not all the debates...expressly declare that America must be taxed in aid of British funds?²⁴

At the end of the letter, Washington invites Fairfax to be present at a county meeting in Alexandria. This was the meeting in which were drafted the Fairfax Resolves,²⁵ described as reflecting "the sense of the people of this county, upon the Measures proper to be taken in this present alarming and dangerous situation of America." Written by a committee headed by George Mason, they protested actions of Parliament which they felt were threatening to the freedom of the Englishmen in the colonies. They assured George III that they wished to remain colonies of the British crown but made it clear that "though we are its subjects, we will use every means which Heaven hath given us to prevent our becoming its slaves."²⁶ At a later meeting to vote on the Resolves, Fairfax was

unable to attend and instead wrote a letter to be read as a dissenting voice to the Resolves. His letter went unread, however, and the Mason Resolves were adopted. Washington wrote Fairfax a letter explaining the reason for his not reading the letter: not hearing any dissenting voice but a Mr. Williamson's, he assumed that the rest of the assembled Fairfax County Freeholders were in agreement with the Resolves. Answering him, Fairfax mentions speaking to Mr. Williamson and hearing that there were others in the Court House who were of the same mind, but they were afraid to speak because they feared the majority in favor of the Resolves. In any case, the dissenters failed to make themselves known, and the Resolves passed.

In 1777, he wrote to Washington of his desire to train for the clergy, saying that this desire and "not finding myself at liberty to concur in the Public measures makes me anxious to go to England...There has appeared...but one objection, and that that is the giving of Intelligence."²⁷ He goes on to say that, if asked, he would advise Parliament to grant America her independence, for if they lost the present struggle, there would certainly be another that they would win. (Fairfax's continual contact with leading revolutionaries like Washington no doubt influenced his opinion; it differed greatly from other loyalists who expected the revolution to last a few months.)

In the same letter, Fairfax asks for a pass to New York to board a ship and go to England to see if he could bring about a peaceful reconciliation with the colonies. Washington granted the pass, but Fairfax met with hostile colonial soldiers in Lancaster, Pennsylvania who tried to force him to take an oath of loyalty that he feared taking "not knowing whether it would forever deprive me of seeing my wife and children again."²⁸

He returned home and wrote Washington thanking him for his friendship in a time when they were divided in political sentiment, "at a time when your popularity was at the highest and mine at the lowest."²⁹

Fairfax's friendship with Washington and his family's respected position in Virginia was probably instrumental in saving him from further harassment. That he was a respected member of Alexandria society is proved by his appointment to the office of rector of Christ Church in 1790. As was previously noted, Fairfax had sympathies toward both revolution and loyalism. His middle-of-the-road status prevented many of the problems that other loyalists of the time encountered.

Fairfax went to London in 1798 and returned in 1800. He lived the rest of his life at Mount Eagle.

III. VIRGINIA LOYALISM

Section 1

The preponderance of revolutionary sympathy in Virginia, coupled with the harsh legal treatment of loyalists, accounts for much of the silence of Alexandria loyalists. In 1863, the General Court Records in Richmond were destroyed; these would have revealed more of those accused of loyalism.

But a loyalist acting in his own self interest had nothing to gain from declaring British sympathies. Unless a British army was near by, loyalists were much better off if they remained silent. This accounts in part for the absence of records of loyalism in Alexandria and Virginia.

It was a common practice for revolutionary sympathizers to refuse to pay off debts to English or loyalist-owned firms. It was very difficult to obtain legal aid in forcing people to pay bills to loyalists. Washington, in a letter to Fairfax, writes:

Whilst we are accusing others of injustice, we ought to be just ourselves; and how can this be, whilst we owe a considerable debt and refuse payment of it to Great Britain, is to me unconceivable.³⁰

Virginia tried to block the Treaty of Paris debt-payment clause by simply not enforcing it.

When George William Fairfax and his wife Sally left Belvoir for England in 1773 to attend to the family estate, George Washington looked after their property in the colonies. In May 1779, all Virginia property belonging to "British subjects" became part of the Virginia Commonwealth.

The citizenship of the Fairfaxes was controversial. Bryan, George William's brother, was a proclaimed loyalist, and George William was in England at the time. Again Washington interceded and the General Court found George William Fairfax "not to be a British subject."³¹

In October of 1776, the General Assembly passed an act stating that if any Virginia resident did

by any word, open deed, or act, advisedly and willingly maintain and defend the authority, jurisdiction, or power of the King or Parliament of Great Britain, such person shall be subject to a fine not exceeding £ 20,000, or up to five years in prison.

The Assembly later required all free born male inhabitants of Virginia to take an oath denouncing George III, his heirs and successors, and to

“discover and make known all treasons or traitorous conspiracies.” those who refused the oath could not bear arms, hold office, serve in any official capacity to the colony, or buy land.³²

The words “traitorous acts” are significant. A few years before, a traitorous act would have connoted one directed against George III. Now, with America’s loyalties on her own continent, and a firm provincial identity established, a traitorous act was one directed against America’s interest. This was an entity, not a string of colonies dominated by a king who had never seen them.

Section 2.

Of all the colonies, Virginia probably had the fewest loyalists. They were concentrated in the Norfolk area where the proportion of rebels to loyalists was almost equal. Accomac and Northampton were also noted as loyal areas. But basically loyalists were scattered in Virginia and fell into five categories: officials in the King’s employ, Englishmen new to the colonies, pacifists, the Anglican clergy, and merchants.

Officials of the king were under his direct control or under that of the trustees of the proprietary. Their livelihoods depended on their carrying out their duties as instructed.

Pacifist groups like the Quakers opposed the revolution on the principle that the violence was not necessary to achieve the desired ends.

The Anglican clergy were directly responsible to the Church of England authority in London. British born mainly, they preached the Christian tradition which emphasized obedience to authority, and in particular, the king; the Church of England stresses loyalty to king and country. Church and state were very much connected under the British system. Anglicans became a much mistrusted link with the mother country. The clergy faced a question when revolution came: should they join the rebels and repudiate their vows or stay in a difficult political position? Most Anglican clergy chose the former position. Virginia was very remote from Church authority; in such a case a congregation had more power than the Church of England.

The case of newcomer Englishmen to the colonies is particularly significant in any analysis of loyalist motivations. Both colonists and those dwelling in the British Isles thought of themselves as Englishmen; however, the fact remains that by the second half of the eighteenth century the North American colonists had two or three generations of colonial experience behind them, and had established a strong provincial identity. An Englishman new to the colonies was like a foreigner in a country

where he did not speak the language. Nicholas Cresswell was a good example of this. Not understanding the motivations of the “damned rebels”, he condemned them totally. (There were a number of loyalists who, not as fortunate in friends and connections as Cresswell, were thrown in jail, suspected of loyalist conspiracy.) Ebenezer Hazard, a surveyor for the post office, passed through Alexandria and remarked on the events.

The Tories who intended to destroy Alexandria are sent off today in Irons to Williamsburg, to be tried...There are seven in all, no Americans amongst them.³³

The “no Americans” is significant; these were men recently arrived in the colonies with a totally British frame of reference.

Loyalists merchants had their own financial interest at heart. The dollars the Continental Congress had minted were close to valueless. Wishing to be paid in British sterling, they supported the loyalist cause.

* * * * *

Loyalists, as the war dragged to a close, had two options: they could either go to Britain or remain in the colonies subject to harassment and sometimes injustice. Some, like Cresswell, left. Fairfax, more firmly entrenched in the life of the Virginia landed gentry, lived the rest of his life in the colony. Their experimental background determined their views and values, and their values determined their actions. This is true of all human beings. Sometimes one’s experience makes one a loyalist; other times it starts a revolution.

FOOTNOTES

¹Samuel Thornley, *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1924), pp. V-VIII.

²Nicholas Cresswell, *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1924), p. 1.

³*Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁹Later, after already determining to leave England, Cresswell regretfully wrote out a chart of the expenses that would be incurred in the establishment of a Virginia plantation. Had the "damned rebels" not interfered, he would have established a fine farm, far more than he could have expected in England.

¹⁰Cresswell, *op.cit.*, p. 155.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 141.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 257.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 226.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 226.

²⁰The proprietary of the Northern Neck was composed of all the land between the Potomac and the Rappahannock.

²¹Kenton Kilmer and Donald Sweig, *The Fairfax Family in Fairfax County* (Fairfax, Va.: Fairfax County Office of Comprehensive Planning, 1975), p. 16.

²²*Ibid.*, pp. 5-18 and pp. 32-35.

²³Letter, Bryan Fairfax to George Washington, Sept. 15, 1758, Library of Congress, Washington Papers, Vol. 3, 1758-1770, p. 99. (reprinted in Kilmer and Sweig, *op.cit.*, p. 35.)

²⁴Letter, George Washington to Bryan Fairfax, July 4, 1774. (reprinted in Thomas Fleming, *Affectionately Yours*, George Washington (New York: Norton and Co., 1967), p. 47.

²⁵They were called the Fairfax Resolves because the originators were from Fairfax County; they had no connection with the Fairfax family.

²⁶George Mason, *The Papers of George Mason*, ed. Robert Rutland. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971).

²⁷Letter, Bryan Fairfax to George Washington, Sept. 21, 1777, Mt. Vernon Manuscript Collection. (reprinted in Marian Van Landingham, "Loyalists and Revolutionaries in Alexandria", *Alexandria, a Composite History*, I (1975), p. 74.)

²⁸Letter, Bryan Fairfax to George Washington, Dec. 8, 1777, Mt. Vernon Manuscript Collection, *op.cit.*, p. 74.

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰Fleming, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

³¹British Public Record Office 121, Treasury, Vol. 72, American Loyalist Claims, 1786-1787. Virginia: Lists of Escheated Estates, Copies of Inquisitions, etc. Fairfax, George William 57, 101. Mt. Vernon Manuscript Collection, *op.cit.*, p. 72.

³²Stuart E. Brown, Jr., *Virginia Baron* (Berryville, Va.: Chesapeake Book Co., 1965), p. 190.

³³Shelley, Fred McPherson, (ed.) "The Journal of Ebenezer Hazard in Virginia, 1777", *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 62, 1954, p. 401.

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DEVELOPMENT OF POSTAL SERVICE IN FAIRFAX COUNTY, VIRGINIA 1750 - 1890

by
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[Mr. Stuntz prepared this article while enrolled in a course at George Mason University in 1975. It has been published in this edited form by WAY MARKINGS, the Journal of the Virginia Postal History Society, Unit 41 of the American Philatelic Society, Robert L. Lisbeth, Editor. He provided the information contained in square brackets, the illustrated covers and edited the original version.]

POST OFFICES IN PORT TOWNS

It is fairly safe to assume that Alexandria's first post office was established shortly after 1749, when that city was laid out and lots sold. Dalrymple showed on his edition of the Fry and Jefferson Map of 1755 two routes between New Post (Alexander Spotswood's home below Fredericksburg) and Annapolis. One route began at New Post, across the Northern Neck to the Potomac at Hooe's Ferry, then to Port Tobacco and followed the Maryland road via Piscataway to Annapolis. The other route, via Alexandria, crossed the Potomac by the ferry from Addison's at the mouth of Oxen Creek in Maryland. This second route became the post route before 1764 since author-historian Fairfax Harrison quotes a notice in the Maryland *Gazette* of 19 July 1764 of the death of the post rider between Annapolis and Alexandria. Regardless of the actual date that Alexandria secured a post office, the official post route through Virginia in 1773 began at Alexandria and proceeded via the Potomac Path to Fredericksburg.

The second post office in Fairfax County was thought to have been established at Colchester on the Occoquan River, at the Belmont Bay ferry crossing. [It is known that Alexander Henderson, Esq. was commissioned postmaster of Colchester on November 24, 1774. Mail was probably carried through Colchester on the King's Highway between Alexandria and Fredericksburg.] Postal records show that the post office was discontinued 7 October 1815.

POST ROADS

The spread and growth of the post offices can be most easily followed by first noting the establishment of towns on navigable rivers, as we have just noted. Secondly, major roads in the county were declared post roads and post offices were generally established along these routes. In a small volume in the U. S. Postal Service Library, *Post Roads Established by Law 1810-1825*, these post roads in Fairfax County were listed:

"From Washington, by Alexandria, Dumfries, etc." This would have been the route south from Washington through Alexandria (established in 1749) and generally via Route 1 to the ferry at Colchester and on to Dumfries in Prince William County.

"From Washington City by Prospect, Lanesville, [sic], to Leesburg, etc." This was probably the road from Chain Bridge (Route 123) to Langley, then Route 193 (Georgetown Pike), to Dranesville and via Route 7 (Leesburg Pike) to Leesburg.

"From Washington City to Fairfax Court House, Goshen, Middleburg, etc." This route could have been via water to Alexandria and thence to Fairfax Court House via Route 236 (Little River Turnpike). More probably the post road crossed the ferry near Rosslyn, proceeded out present day Route 211 (Lee Highway) through Falls Church and to Fairfax. Goshen was in Loudoun County, as is Middleburg, near Route 50.

"From Fairfax Court House by Centreville, Haymarket, Warrenton, etc." This would have been present day Route 211 west to Fauquier County from Fairfax City.

"From Alexandria to Fairfax Court House." This road would be the above mentioned Route 236 which had been improved about 1804-05, patterned after the Lancaster Toll Road, in Pennsylvania, west from Philadelphia.

"From Colchester to Occoquan." This appears to indicate that mail might have been brought to Colchester by boat to the established

post office and then relayed via post road to Occoquan but since both town are on the Occoquan River, on opposite sides, it is unlikely that mail was forwarded via surface. Water transportation would have been more likely.

INLAND POST OFFICES

The northern most post road in Fairfax County crossed the Potomac River at Chain Bridge and proceeded to a north westerly direction into Loudoun County. The first post office in the north and west of Chain Bridge was *Langley*, located near the intersection of Georgetown Pike (Route 193) and old Chain Bridge Road (Route 123). The settlement took its name from the home of Benjamin Mackall, which was nearby. The Mackall family purchased "Langley" from the Lee family who had named it. The post office was established on 26 October 1846 when William Means was named postmaster. [The post office was discontinued in 1911.]

The next post office along Georgetown Pike was *Prospect Hill*. James Wiley was appointed postmaster on 5 February 1802. The post office was thought to have been in the house known as Drovers Rest, at one time, about one-half mile east of Difficult Run on Georgetown Pike. Prospect Hill had been known as *Wileysville* from 1803 to 1808. The document establishing the post office at Prospect Hill was addressed to "Tolson," Lord Fairfax's estate near Difficult Run. There was a Towlston Mill between the Georgetown Pike and the Potomac River, situated just to the east of Difficult. At one time, the Prospect Hill post office was located at the intersection of Balls Hill Road (Route 686) and Georgetown Pike. It was discontinued on 31 August 1907.

Spring Vale, or *Springvale*, was established as a post office when Joshua Loomis was named postmaster on 20 February 1844. It was located at the intersection of Springvale Road (Route 674) and Georgetown Pike, west of Prospect Hill. [It was discontinued on 31 August 1907.]

Dranesville was to the west of the intersection of Georgetown Pike and Leesburg Pike (Route 7). It was established by Washington Drane, 8 January 1823, when he was named the first postmaster. The post office was located in Drane's Tavern which is still standing, although

moved a short distance south of its original site to make way for a widening of Leesburg Pike. The tavern is now owned by the Fairfax County Park Authority.

Great Falls, in the vicinity of this post road, was not established as a post office until Augustus C. Watkins was named postmaster on 11 March 1878. It was located at the intersection of Route 681 and Georgetown Pike

Matildaville, another early town in the vicinity of this early post road, was located at Great Falls on the Potomac River. Ruins of some early buildings are visible in the Great Falls Park. The town was named for Matilda Lee, first wife of General "Lighthouse Harry" Lee. Lewis Sewall was named postmaster on 16 July 1828 but the office was discontinued two years later on 23 April 1830.

Another major route through the county was Leesburg Pike. It began in Alexandria, continued on King Street extended, ran west through Falls Church and Dranesville, and onward to Leesburg in Loudoun County.

On this route the first post office to the west of Alexandria was the episcopal *Theological Seminary* on the hill overlooking Alexandria. Edward R. Lippitt was appointed first postmaster on 30 January 1841. [On 31 December 1917 the post office was discontinued and the mail forwarded to the Alexandria post office.]

Friendship post office west of the seminary was established on 16 January 1854 when William Payne was named postmaster. It was discontinued on 9 July 1866.

Bailey's Cross Roads, next settlement to the west on Leesburg Pike, was not given a post office until William N. Payne was named postmaster on 16 June 1879. Bailey's Cross Roads is named for the Ringling Brothers, Barnum and Bailey's Circus that wintered in the vicinity for a number of years. [On 31 January 1906 the area around Bailey's Cross Roads became obscure and lost its postal designation. On 7 April 1962 a post office was re-established at the urging of the Bailey's Cross Roads Businessmen's Association.]

Falls Church was further west along Leesburg Pike and was named for the Episcopal Church built there in 1769. Charles H. Upton was named postmaster on 11 June 1849.

On the outskirts of Falls Church, *West End* was established as a post office when William M. Ellison was named postmaster on 28 July 1888.

This office was established primarily to accommodate Edmund Flagg, author, real estate man, lawyer, and politician, who lived nearby at his home, Highland View.

Peach Grove post office was further to the west beyond West End. It was on the north side of Leesburg Pike in the vicinity of present day Tyson's Corner Shopping Center. It was established on 22 April 1851 when Eliphale R. Murray was appointed postmaster. The post office was discontinued on 13 June 1866.

Still further west, but two decades later, *Ash Grove* (later changed to *Ashgrove*) was established as a post office on 8 December 1884 with Robert T. Bonham as postmaster. This office was just west of the Dulles Access Road, on the north side of Leesburg Pike. [It was discontinued on 31 May 1911.]

Kenmore post office was west of Ashgrove, in the vicinity of present day Shouse Village just off Leesburg Pike near the intersection of Towlston Road (Route 676). Kenmore closed the same time as Ashgrove.

The post office at *Leighs* was established on 26 February 1889 when Oscar Orrison was named postmaster. It is thought to have been in the vicinity of Leighs Mill at Difficult Run and Leigh Mill Road (Route 683). [Postal service was stopped at Leighs on 31 August 1907.]

Colvin Run post office was in the vicinity of the Colvin Run Mill on old Leesburg Pike, just west of Difficult Run. It was established on 27 February 1878 when John H. Johnson was named postmaster. [It terminated postal service on 31 October 1907.] The next station to the west was the previously mentioned Dranesville post office.

One early post road mentioned is "From Alexandria to Fairfax Court House." This is present day Little River Turnpike (Route 236) built about 1804 as an early toll road from Alexandria through Fairfax Court House to Aldie in Loudoun County. For many years Fairfax Court House was also known as Providence [on some maps]. The county seat of Culpeper County was Fairfax and it was not until that name was dropped in favor of Culpeper that Fairfax Court House could be known as Fairfax. This occurred about 1875.

The first post office west of Alexandria was *Mount Pierce*, established when John H. Urquhart was named postmaster on 24 January 1853. It was discontinued on 27 August 1866.

Next to the west was *Lincolnia*, named for President Abraham Lincoln, and established on 30 June 1870 when Willard N. Miller was appointed postmaster. [It was later discontinued on 15 April 1904.]

Annandale, next to the west, had been established on 27 December 1837 when William Garges was named postmaster. The name was

changed to *Springfield Depot* on 28 August 1866 when Timothy Murphy became postmaster. The location of the post office evidently changed too, since Springfield Depot on the Southern Railroad would have been some miles south of Annandale. The post office was reestablished as Annandale on 19 January 1876.

Fairfax Court House became a post office on 7 April 1802 when John Ratcliff was appointed postmaster. The location of the Court House had been moved from Alexandria in 1800 after the District of Columbia had been laid out in its original ten mile square configuration and encompassed Alexandria. The county seat had originally been near Tyson's Corner (at the intersection of Old Court House Road (Route 677) and Chain Bridge Road) from 1742 until its removal to Alexandria in 1752.

Pender was the post office to the west of Fairfax Court House but it was not established until 22 March 1890 when Welby J. French was named postmaster. The area had formerly been called Ox Hill. [Mail was discontinued on 15 May 1907.]

Chantilly, located on the Little River Turnpike (which becomes Route 50 west of Kamp Washington in Fairfax Court House) at the intersection of Route 657, was established on 27 February 1832 when James Stuart was named postmaster. [Postal service was discontinued on 30 April 1907.]

Willard, located in the vicinity of the Dulles Airport, was established as a post office on 13 December 1888 when Harriet E. Detwiler was named postmaster. [On 9 January 1900 Willard became part of Loudoun County, with the new alignment of County line.]

To the west of Chantilly is *Pleasant Valley* on the Little River Turnpike near the Loudoun County line. It was established as a post office when Elijah Hutchison was named postmaster on 14 January 1812. [It was discontinued on 29 April 1916.]

To the north of Chantilly was *Frying Pan*. This name, thought to have come from the incident of leaving a frying pan at an early camp site or in finding this common kitchen utensil in the area, was given to a post office of 26 February 1889 when R. W. Orrison was named postmaster. [It became Floris on 24 September 1892.]

The route to the south from Alexandria lay toward Dumfries, in Prince William County. The post road was "From Washington, by Alexandria, Dumfries, etc."

Accotink, on U. S. Route 1 was established as a post office on 3 May 1849 when Lucas Gillingham was appointed postmaster.

Pohick Church, on the post road, was a post office name from 27 April 1817 when William Lindsay was named postmaster until the next year when the post office was discontinued. [Pohick Church is listed in Thomas Shore, *The Merchants and Traveller's Companion*...., Petersburg, Va., 1819 and in the *Table of Post Offices in the United States*...., Washington, D. C. 1822.]

There is also a listing for a post office known as *Pohick Run*. This post office was established on 17 April 1820 when Thomas Coutter was named postmaster. The post office was discontinued sometime in 1822.

Newington post office was established on 19 June 1888 when Henry A. Pearson was named postmaster. This office could have been on the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad since its later date of establishment does not tie it to the early post road.

Lorton Valley post office was established on 11 November 1875 when Joseph Plaskett was appointed postmaster. It was located near the intersection of Gunston Hall Road (Route 242) and Telegraph Road (Route 611). [Mail service was ended on 31 May 1911 and forwarded to the Lorton post office.]

Gunston was established as a post office on 10 September 1878 when David L. French was named postmaster. It was named for Gunston Hall, the seat of George Mason, which is a public shrine. [On 31 August 1917 mail was forwarded to Lorton.]

Moor, a post office named for its first postmaster, William G. Moore, was established on 31 December 1877. The name was later changed to *Garfield* [on 27 September 1881. The Garfield post office was discontinued on 28 February 1907.] It was located near the intersection of Franconia Road (Route 633) and Backlick Road (Route 617) near present day Springfield.

Mount Vernon was given a post office on 4 March 1861 when Upton H. Herbert was appointed postmaster. The office was discontinued on 22 August 1866. Mr. Herbert remained at Mount Vernon during the Civil War and was influential in preventing soldiers of the North or South from disturbing the mansion or grounds. [On 16 September 1878 it was reestablished and changed to Mount Vernon-on-the-Potomac.]

Iona, in this general vicinity, was established as a post office on 1 March 1869. Edward Daniels was the first postmaster. [He remained postmaster until the post office was discontinued on 22 December 1873.]

Collingwood, later known also as Collingwood-on-the-Potomac, was established on 21 April 1870. [Postal service was discontinued on 6 May 1884. It was probably located near the intersection of Washington Memorial Parkway and Collingwood Road (Route 628).]

West of Fairfax Court House on the Lee Highway (Route 211) is *Centreville*. This was on the post road described as "From Fairfax Court House by Centreville, Haymarket, Warrenton, etc." A post office was established in Centreville on 27 November 1797 when Anthony Thornton was named postmaster. Previously, the area had been referred to as New Gate, evidently from the fact that in the early days gates were on some roads which wandered from plantation to plantation and were not necessarily to take one from town to town.

Bull Run was west of Centreville on the Lee Highway. Henry Clay Rogers was named postmaster on 12 February 1878. A road in the vicinity bears the name Bull Run Post Office Road.

Included in the records listing county post offices is a *Springfield*, mentioned in the files as being "ten miles from Centreville and four miles from Goshen," the latter being a town in Loudoun County. The location given would clearly place the post office outside Fairfax County, probably in Loudoun County. Stephan Bayard was named postmaster at Springfield on 16 September 1801.

POST OFFICES IN LOCALITIES SERVED BY RAILROADS

Post offices naturally were located on railroads as they were built across the county. The first railroad was the Orange and Alexandria Railroad Company built in the early 1850's west from Alexandria through the county into Prince William.

Burke's Station post office was established on 8 March 1852 [John A. Marshall, postmaster] when the O and A afforded fast dependable mail delivery service. The post office was named for Silas Burke, a large land owner whose land the railroad crossed. [It was located near the area where Burke Lake Road (Route 645) crosses the present Southern Railway.]

Springfield Depot, previously mentioned [on page 19], could have been on this railroad too. Files at the National Archives do not clearly indicate whether Springfield Depot post office was in another area when it replaced the Annandale post office as discussed above [on page 19].

Fairfax Station, also on the O and A, was established on 7 April 1852. Thomas Jefferson Haycock was the first postmaster. Mail was routed to Fairfax Court House via Fairfax Station because of the dependability of mail delivery via train.

Sangster's Station, a stop on the O and A, now called the Southern Railroad, was west of Fairfax Station. This station became a post office on 11 March 1852 when William E. Ford was named postmaster. The office was discontinued on 29 September 1866.

Dye's Mill post office was established on 14 September 1855 when James S. Buckley was named postmaster. It was located at Union Mills, which was on Johnny Moore Creek in the south west corner of the county where the Southern Railroad crosses Bull Run into Prince William County. There was a Union Mill post office in the state so the request for a post office bore the name Dye's Mill.

The name [of the Dye's Mill post office] was changed to *Clifton Station* on 9 February 1869 when Harrison G. Otis was appointed postmaster.

The second railroad was the Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire Railroad which extended from Alexandria to Falls Church, Vienna, Herndon, and west into Loudoun County. It was originally thought the railroad would extend to the coal fields near Keyser, West Virginia. The advent of the Civil War and economic factors precluded the completion of this railroad beyond Bluemont in Loudoun County. This railroad was commenced in the early 1850's. Falls Church and West End post offices, previously mentioned [on page 17], were on this railroad, or were served by this means of transportation when it became available. This railroad has been discontinued and the trackage sold.

The post office to the west of West End was *Dunn Loring*, named for the subdivision which bore the name of its two developers, General W. M. Dunn and Dr. George B. Loring. Farrand L. Brenizer was named first postmaster here on 6 September 1886.

Grange Camp was to the west of Dunn Loring. It was on the Washington and Old Dominion Railroad, as the Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire road became known, where Grange encampments were held in the vicinity of present day Wedderburn Heights. The post office was established on 22 April 1887 when Ludwell H. Luckett was appointed postmaster. It was discontinued on 23 June 1890.

Vienna post office, to the west of Grange Camp and Dunn Loring, was originally named *Ayr Hill* for James Hunter's 1760 residence nearby, which was named for his Ayrshire, Scotland birthplace. It had been a post office since Margaret Williams was named postmaster on 8 June 1857. A Dr. William Hendricks came to Ayr Hill from Vienna, New York, in the 1850's and agreed to buy land in the Ayr Hill area if the name were changed to Vienna. This was done and he became postmaster on 20 May 1862.

Hunter's Mill post office was established to the west of Vienna, on the

railroad, on 10 July 1860, when George Washington Hunter was appointed postmaster. The office was discontinued on 9 July 1866 and reestablished on 9 August 1869 when Mrs. Mary C. Biles was appointed postmaster. Hunter's Mill post office was located near the intersection of Hunter's Mill Road (Route 674) and the Old Dominion Railroad.

Republican Mills post office was to the west of Hunter's Mill. It was established on 3 July 1849 when Alfred Leigh was appointed postmaster. It became *Thornton's Depot* on 27 June 1860 when William H. Thornton was named postmaster. After being discontinued on 29 August 1872, it was reestablished as *Wiehle* on 22 August 1887, John R. Wiehle being appointed postmaster. [The name was again changed on 27 November 1923 to Sunset Hills.] The area is the present day site of Reston.

Herndon was established as a post office on 13 July 1858 when William W. Hollingsworth was appointed postmaster. Herndon is near the western boundary of the county on the Old Dominion Railroad right-of-way. It was named for Captain W. L. Herndon, a Virginian who commanded the steamer Central America when lost between Panama and New York in 1857.

The third railroad to be constructed in the county was the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac which ran south to Fredericksburg from Washington and Alexandria. It was opened in 1872. Post offices that might have been served by this line have been discussed above.

A fourth railroad line was built from Roslyn to Great Falls; this was later connected with the Washington and Old Dominion. In later years it was to serve the McLean post office, named for John R. McLean, one of the owners of the railroad.

OTHER POST OFFICES

Lewinsville post office (named for Lewin Turberville) was established on 30 September 1857 when Francis H. Janney was named postmaster. It is located at the intersection of Great Falls Road (Route 694) and Chain Bridge Road. The name was changed to *Kidwell's Cross Road* on 12 June 1858 with Janney remaining as postmaster. Six weeks later the name was changed to *Anna* [on 27 July 1858 under Janney] and remained until after the Civil War when it became Lewinsville on 28 August 1865. During the Civil War the area was known as Lewinsville. It was discontinued on 31 May 1911 after the McLean post office was established.

Oakton post office was established on 24 January 1883 when Squire Ernest Smith was named postmaster. The area on Chain Bridge Road and Hunter's Mill Road (Route 674) had been known as Flint Hill but

could not assume that name [for its post office] since there was another Flint Hill in Rappahannock County. The request for a post office, signed by Smith, requests the name of Oak's Corner. This is crossed out on the application and Oakton substituted. The name came from a large old oak tree that stood at the intersection of the above named roads.

Merrifield post office was established on 22 May 1890 when Rafael E. Morales was named postmaster. It was located on Lee Highway at Gallows Road (Route 650).

Vale post office was established on 19 September 1883 when John F. Saunders was named postmaster. It was located near the intersection of Routes 665 and 672 near the Vale Methodist Church and was named for the homestead of Hudson Bennett called Poplar Vale. The Post Office Department rejected the proposed longer names of Bennett and Poplar Vale and accepted the name Vale. [Postal service was ended on 15 June 1907.]

Farr post office was established on 4 May 1883 when Mrs. Fannie Richards was appointed its postmaster. There was a locality known as Farris Cross Roads near the intersection of Chain Bridge Road and Brad-dock Road (Route 620) between Fairfax and Fairfax Station. There was another locality known as Farr's Corner, at the intersection of Henderson Road (Route 645) and Wolf Run Shoals (Route 610). The latter site was most probably the location of the Farr post office. [It was discontinued on 30 April 1908.]

Millbrook post office was established on 19 June 1874, William H. Arnold was the first postmaster. It was discontinued five years later on 19 February 1875. Hopkins' *Atlas of 15 Miles Around Washington....* (Philadelphia, 1879) shows a Millbrook on Columbia Pike (Route 244) where it crosses Holmes Run.

Painters post office was established on 22 January 1866 when Joseph H. Painter was appointed postmaster. It was discontinued on 11 January 1869. The location of Painters has not been established.

Mero was established on 18 September 1890 when Annie M. Mero was appointed postmaster. It was located in the Wellington-Collingwood area, north of Mount Vernon. [The post office was closed on 19 August 1898.]

Joseph M. Springman was appointed postmaster of *Springman* post office on 1 October 1884. Springman was located just west of present day Shirley Highway (Interstate 95) but east of the location of the Lorton Reformatory complex. [On 6 July 1910 mail was directed to the Lorton post office.]

Tennie Dorsey was appointed postmaster at *Dorsey* post office on 23

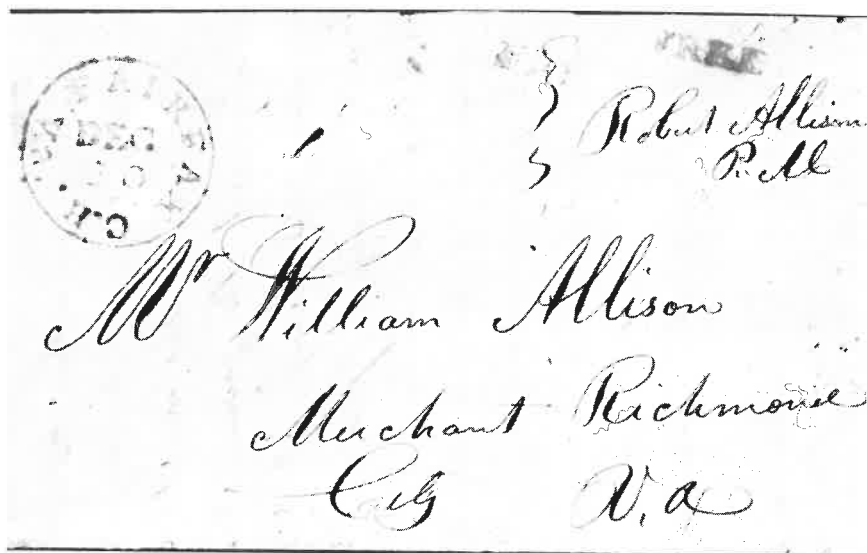
January 1885. A year and a half later, on 28 July 1886, mail was routed to the Fairfax Court House post office and the post office discontinued. The exact location of Dorsey is unknown.

Stoneleigh post office was located near the intersection of Silverbrook Road (Route 600) and Chain Bridge Road. It was established on 2 February 1885 when David S. Beach was named postmaster. [Mail service ended on 30 April 1908..]

Winter Hill was established as a post office on 9 July 1839 when John Crump was appointed postmaster. The office was discontinued on 29 January 1840. The location of Winter Hill is unknown.

Sumac Flat was established on 23 June 1831 when Hannah Hirst was appointed postmaster. The office was discontinued on 5 May 1832. Its location has not been determined.

Traveller's Rest post office was established on 15 January 1824 when Joseph DeLaplaine was appointed postmaster. (Delaplane is the name of a town in Fauquier County.) It closed on 25 September 1826. Its location has not been determined.



[1843 folded letter sheet. Red Town cancel and free. Robert Allison was postmaster.]

FAIRFAX COUNTY POST OFFICE AND POSTMASTERS 1774 - 1890

by
ROBERT L. LISBETH, Editor
Way Markings

[This list supplements the article by Mayo S. Stuntz on the "Development of Postal Service in Fairfax County, Virginia—1750 - 1890". The number in square brackets after the post office name refers to the page number in which the post office is mentioned. This list does not include Alexandria City or Arlington County post offices because my early records are incomplete and because of their unique history of boundary line changes. This list is sure to contain errors regarding dates and names of postmasters due to my interpretation of written government records.

R.L.L.]

Accotink[19]

3	May	1849	Lucas Gillingham
7	Jan	1851	Benjamin Shivers
17	Jun	1853	David Shivers
10	Dec	1853	John W. Swinker
22	Apr	1856	George J. Haines
22	Dec	1857	Frederick A. Augustein
23	May	1862	Reappointed and reopened
13	Jun	1865	Jacob M. Troth
11	Mar	1868	Jasper C. May
22	Jul	1873	Nathaniel S. Way
13	Feb	1880	George H. Troth

Anna [23]

Formerly Kidwell's Cross Roads

27	Jul	1858	Francis H. Janney
1	Oct	1858	Charles B. Mackee
23	Feb	1859	Henry Jenkins
4	Jun	1860	Ransom S. Main
28	Aug	1865	Changed to Lewinsville

Annandale[18]

27	Dec	1837	William Garges
11	Dec	1855	Ann T. Garges
1	Feb	1856	William C. Garges
22	Oct	1857	John H. Garges
15	Nov	1865	J. Windsbecker
28	Aug	1866	Changed to Springfield Depot
19	Jan	1876	Julius Windsbecker
29	Oct	1877	William C. Smoot
24	Aug	1882	James Crax
19	Sep	1882	Miss Bridget R. O'Connor
17	Mar	1886	E. Lawrence Mann

Ash Grove[18]

8	Dec	1884	Robert T. Bonham
17	Mar	1886	Andrew J. Taylor

Ayr Hill[22]

8	Jun	1857	Margaret Williams
25	Apr	1861	Henry S. Wiehle
20	May	1862	Changed to Vienna

Bailey's Cross Roads[17]

14	Aug	1889	William N. Payne
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Bull Run [21]

12	Feb	1878	Henry Clay Rogers
29	Jan	1890	John T. Wells

Burke's Station[21]

8	Mar	1852	John A. Marshall
11	Jan	1854	Jesse Hinds
9	Jan	1857	James Cowling
29	Dec	1860	Mrs. Ann C. Simpson
26	Dec	1866	Discontinued
18	Oct	1869	Henry D. Rice
21	Nov	1872	Samuel M. Fitzhugh
31	Aug	1876	Edward P. Wilkins
10	Jan	1880	Henry D. Rice
25	Jan	1883	Jefferson D. Ashford
14	Jul	1884	George H. Burke
21	Jun	1889	Virginia F. Burke

Centreville [21]

27	Nov	1797	Anthony Thornton
1	Jul	1799	Charles Tyler, Jr.
1	Apr	1809	John Hening
1	May	1813	Benedict M. Lane
15	Aug	1818	John Hening
23	Dec	1826	George W. Lane
27	Sep	1827	George N. Beckley
13	Dec	1830	Craven Ashford
31	Mar	1832	John Taylor
20	Sep	1834	John DeBell
12	Oct	1835	Redding Hutchison
21	Jun	1836	Enoch Grigsby
24	Feb	1851	Betty D. Grigsby
30	Nov	1854	J. R. Grigsby
5	Jan	1855	Betty D. Grigsby
31	Mar	1857	Thomas J. Benson
2	Feb	1859	William Forsyth
22	Nov	1865	Benjamin D. Utterback
27	Nov	1889	C. Jasper Mohler

Chantilly [19]

27	Feb	1832	James Stuart
3	Jan	1842	Thomas Ayre
10	Oct	1851	John S. Ross
10	Sep	1860	Miss Harriet E. Ross
28	Jun	1866	Discontinued
18	Dec	1866	Sobeiski L. Chapin
15	Jun	1870	Arthur Wrenn
20	Jun	1870	Sobieski Chapin
17	Jun	1875	James W. Taylor
11	Aug	1875	Arthur Wrenn
6	Jan	1880	Albert Wrenn
5	Apr	1888	Washington C. Wrenn

Clifton Station [22]

9	Feb	1869	Harrison G. Otis
27	Feb	1872	Joseph S. Otis
3	May	1873	George P. Wright
6	Dec	1880	Isaac L. Otis
29	Jun	1886	George P. Wright

Colchester[15]

24	Nov	1774	Alexander Henderson
16	Feb	1790	William Thompson
25	Apr	1793	George W. Lindsay
1	Apr	1800	Zachariah Ward
1	Jan	1804	Samuel Bailey
1	Jul	1813	Thomas Morgan
	Oct	1815	Discontinued

Collingwood[20]

21	Apr	1870	Miss Jennie Snowden
7	Apr	1871	Daniel P. Smith
6	May	1884	Discontinued

Colvin Run[18]

27	Feb	1878	John H. Johnson
7	Jan	1884	Joseph H. Brown
27	Jul	1885	Robert Cunningham
30	Sep	1886	Wilham A. Moxley

Dorsey[24]

28	Jan	1885	Tennie Dorsey
28	Jul	1886	Discontinued

Dranesville[16]

8	Jun	1822	Washington Drane
17	Jul	1839	Ira Bunnell
30	Nov	1846	John B. Farr
16	Jun	1853	Henry Bicksler
19	Jan	1856	John Rowzes
5	Aug	1856	William A. Moore
9	Jul	1857	Charles W. Coleman
14	Nov	1865	William Dyer
11	Dec	1865	Charles W. Coleman
18	May	1871	Mrs. Clementia Farr
20	Jan	1876	George G. Sledge
21	Dec	1877	Zadie L. Farr
29	Dec	1877	Miss Rose E. Farr
29	Apr	1890	Rose E. Porter

Dunn Loring[22]

6	Sep	1886	Farrand L. Brenizer
20	Mar	1906	Louis R. Poole

Dye's Mill [22]

14	Sep	1855	James S. Buckley
8	Jul	1859	Robert J. Simpson
11	Oct	1865	John L. Detwiler
9	Feb	1869	Changed to Clifton Station

Fairfax C. H. [19]

7	Apr	1802	John Ratcliff
1	Apr	1803	Robert Ratcliff
1	Oct	1803	Thomas Moore
1	Jan	180?	John Ratcliff
1	Jul	1805	Hugh Violette
1	Apr	1806	Christopher Neale
31	Dec	180?	Hugh W. Minor
1	Jan	1810	John Ratcliff
17	Jan	1817	William P. Richardson
23	Jun	1824	? Carver
3	Aug	1825	Joel L. Harper
19	Sep	1827	Gordon Allison
30	Jun	1837	James G. Allison
1	Jan	1841	Robert Allison
17	Jun	1857	William R. Chapman
11	Apr	1862	Henry T. Brooks
17	Jun	1862	Walter B. Hoag
1	Aug	1865	Job Hawxhurst
22	May	1885	J. W. Whitehead
4	Apr	1889	Job Hawxhurst
8	Jun	1893	Changed to Fairfax

Fairfax Station[21]

7	Apr	1852	Thomas Jefferson Haycock
22	Jul	1852	Discontinued
21	Jan	1854	Jonathan Richardson
7	Jan	1859	William Dickinson
9	Jul	1866	Discontinued
30	Sep	1875	John E. Mitchell
27	Feb	1877	E. R. Swetman

12	Mar	1877	Eccla R. Swetman
27	Jul	1889	John R. Taylor
2	Aug	1893	Eccla R. Swetnam
21	Aug	1897	Changed to Swetnam

Falls Church [17]

11	Jun	1849	Charles H. Upton
22	Jun	1849	Simon J. Groot
10	Oct	1859	Charles A. Orton
5	Apr	1860	William H. Moore
18	Apr	1862	George B. Ives
22	Apr	1872	Edward J. Birch
27	Jun	1881	Albert E. Lounsbury
27	Aug	1885	Charles E. Mankin
20	Jun	1889	Edwin F. Crocker
31	May	1893	Samuel R. Newlon

Farr [24]

4	May	1883	Mrs. Fannie Richards
21	Dec	1883	John F. Mayhugh
28	Oct	1899	Miss E. Alice Mayhugh

Friendship [17]

16	Jan	1854	William Payne
10	Oct	1855	Edwin Bowen
28	Jun	1856	Discontinued
18	May	1858	William Payne
9	Jul	1866	Discontinued

Fryingpan [19]

26	Feb	1889	R. W. Orrison
5	Jun	1890	George F. Albaugh
24	Sept	1892	Discontinued

Garfield [20]

Formerly Moor

27	Sep	1881	Cornelius Cain
1	May	1885	William G. Moore
27	Jul	1889	Silas Divers
25	Nov	1889	Nannie B. Grehan
28	Nov	1893	William G. Moore

Grange Camp [22]

22	Apr	1887	Ludwell H. Lockett
23	Jan	1890	Discontinued

Great Falls [17]

11	Mar	1878	Augustus C. Watkins
19	Apr	1879	John F. Swink
27	Jan	1881	William S. Rowzee
5	Mar	1891	Henry O. Cornwell

Gunston [20]

10	Sep	1878	David L. Finch
27	Dec	1878	Joel A. H. Ellis
12	Nov	1879	Samuel M. Smith
30	Nov	1883	Newell White
25	Jan	1887	Prescott Wright
23	Feb	1887	S. Prescott Wright
11	Feb	1901	Thomas Chapman, Jr.

Happy Valley [Unlisted by Stuntz]

20	Oct	1851	John H. Murray
6	Aug	1852	Discontinued

Herndon [23]

13	Jul	1858	William W. Hollingsworth
6	Sep	1865	Octavus Torry
26	Mar	1866	Madison Whipple
23	Jul	1867	E. L. Garrett
25	Sep	1867	George D. Brown
31	Jul	1868	Stephen Killam
22	Jun	1882	William D. Sweetser
29	Jun	1886	A. G. Hutchinson
11	Jun	1889	William D. Sweetser
2	Jun	1893	Andrew G. Hutchison

Hunter's Mill [22]

10	Jul	1860	George W. Hunter
9	Jul	1866	Discontinued
9	Aug	1869	Mrs. Mary C. Biles
12	Apr	1870	Cornelius D. Doremus

4	Apr	1873	Daniel Doremus
5	Jan	1876	Abram Lydecker
23	Apr	1878	Oscar Haring
29	Sep	1880	Thomas L. Money
3	Oct	1890	Mary E. Money

Iona[20]

1	Mar	1869	Edward Daniels
22	Dec	1873	Discontinued

Kenmore[18]

20	Aug	1877	Lewis E. Oliver
14	Nov	1901	Lucretia A. Oliver

Kidwell's X Roads[23]

Formerly Lewinsville

12	Jun	1858	Francis H. Janney
27	Jul	1858	Changed to Anna

Langley[16]

26	Oct	1846	William Means
20	Nov	1858	William Collins
28	Sep	1859	Benjamin F. Mackall
24	Nov	1860	Josiah D. Burke
28	Nov	1865	William Means
28	Mar	1867	Discontinued
12	Apr	1867	Joseph D. Burke
17	Dec	1867	Discontinued
26	Dec	1867	John J. McHorney
30	Mar	1870	Miss Priscilla P. Crawford
3	Oct	1872	Benjamin Whitaker
19	Feb	1878	Henry W. Pool
20	Apr	1880	William Whelan
7	Feb	1882	Arthur Taylor
6	Mar	1882	William Simpson
13	Mar	1882	William W. Simpson
1	Feb	1886	Braden Hummer
12	Feb	1886	Braden E. Hummer
5	Apr	1898	Emory F. Johnson

Leighs[18]

26	Feb	1889	Oscar Orrison
2	Apr	1889	Oscar J. Orrison
31	Aug	1907	Discontinued

Lewinsville[23]

30	Sep	1857	Francis H. Janney
12	Jun	1858	Changed to Kidwell's X Roads
27	Jul	1858	Changed to Anna
28	Aug	1865	Changed to Lewinsville
28	Aug	1865	Frank H. Janney
26	Aug	1867	Edwin F. Crocker
19	Mar	1868	Daniel Ellsworth
24	Apr	1868	H. A. Wagner
23	May	1870	Simon Welch
3	Nov	1870	William Swink
13	Jan	1871	Jonathan Magarety
6	Mar	1871	W. H. Haycock
17	Jul	1871	A. Smith
25	Jan	1872	Mrs. Sarah C. Smith
22	Oct	1873	William Swink
1	Nov	1875	Alexander Mankin
18	May	1897	William B. Besley

Lincolnia[18]

30	Jun	1870	William N. Miller
19	Sep	1876	Harmon S. Barnum
11	Oct	1876	William N. Miller
11	Oct	1876	Willard N. Miller
14	Mar	1879	Addie V. Laing
21	Apr	1880	Albert M. Lewis
27	Aug	1897	John B. Carter

Lloydsburg[Unlisted by Stuntz]

7	Mar	1821	James L. Prince
7	Jul	1822	Edward Clark

Lorton Valley[20]

11	Nov	1875	Joseph Plastet
6	Nov	1893	James Plasket

Millbrook[24]

19	Jun	1874	William H. Arnold
1	Feb	1875	Discontinued

Matildaville[17]

16	Jul	1828	Lewis Sewall
23	Apr	1830	Discontinued

Mero[24]

18	Sep	1890	Annie M. Mero
19	Aug	1898	Discontinued

Merrifield[35]

22	May	1890	Rafael E. Morales
7	Oct	1891	Elbert M. Dunn

Moor [20]

31	Dec	1877	William G. Moore
27	Sep	1881	Changed to Garfield

Mount Pierce[18]

24	Jan	1853	John H. Urquhart
22	Aug	1866	Discontinued

Mount Vernon [20]

4	Mar	1861	Upton H. Herbert
28	Aug	1866	Discontinued
10	Sep	1878	John M. H. Hollingsworth
16	Sep	1878	Changed to Mount Vernon-on-the-Potomac
16	Sep	1878	John M. H. Hollingsworth
13	Nov	1885	Harrison H. Dodge
1	Jul	1928	Changed to Mount Vernon

Newington[20]

19	Jun	1888	Henry A. Pearson
10	Jan	1891	Daniel Baker

Oakton[23]

24	Jan	1883	Squire Ernest Smith
18	Apr	1914	Kate R. Palmer

Painters[24]

22	Jan	1866	Joseph H. Painter
9	Sep	1868	Charles Delaney
11	Jan	1869	Discontinued

Peach Grove [18]

22	Apr	1851	Eliphale R. Murray
12	Jul	1854	William Tyson
24	Jan	1866	James W. Green
5	Feb	1866	Mrs. Lucietia Merry
13	Jun	1866	Discontinued

Pender[19]

22	Mar	1890	Welby J. French
21	Oct	1891	Warfield Watkins

Pleasant Valley [19]

14	Jan	1812	Elijah Hutchison
15	Jan	1847	William H. Fitzhugh
21	Apr	1849	William H. Jolliffe
9	Jan	1850	James H. Palmer
29	Jan	1850	William W. Palmer
26	Oct	1854	James H. Whaley
4	Jan	1856	James L. Cross
6	Sep	1865	William W. Palmer
5	Jun	1868	James H. Whaley
19	Jun	1873	Ellen V. Hamilton
2	Apr	1874	Burr W. Garrett
3	Jan	1878	James W. Gaines
17	Sep	1878	Susan V. Gaines
3	Mar	1882	Charles L. Hutchison
6	Jul	1887	George W. Mankin
13	Mar	1890	Lewis F. Palmer, Jr.

Pohick Church[20]

27	Apr	1817	William Lindsay
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Pohick Run [20]

17	Apr	1820	Thomas Coutter
		1822	Discontinued

Prospect Hill[16]

5	Feb	1802	James Wiley
10	Mar	1804	William T. Wiley
1	Apr	1804	James Wiley
1	Apr	1806	William Wiley
21	Aug	1820	Elias Wortheim
25	Apr	1827	Thomas K. Love
6	Jan	1831	John Smith
1	Dec	1831	Ira Gunnell
5	Oct	1836	William W. Ball
29	Nov	1844	Lewis D. Means
12	Nov	1846	Walter Evans
28	Dec	1848	Thomas J. Walters
10	Jun	1850	William W. Whitmore
3	Mar	1851	John N. Reid
10	Apr	1851	Mark C. Jones
2	Jan	1866	William S. Oliver
30	Apr	1898	Thomas S. Carper

Republican Mills [23]

3	Jul	1849	Alfred Leigh
23	Jun	1856	John Powell
27	Jun	1860	Changed to Thornton's Depot

Sangster's Station[21]

11	Mar	1852	William E. Ford
16	Jul	1853	James C. Kincheloe
19	Apr	1854	James Sangster
21	Mar	1856	Thomas W. Payne
9	Jan	1860	Zephaniah Buckley
29	Sep	1866	Discontinued

Scott's X Roads[Unlisted by Stuntz]

1	Aug	1809	John C. Scott
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Springfield Depot[19 & 21]

Formerly Annandale

28	Aug	1866	Timothy Murphy
9	Aug	1868	Discontinued

Springman [24]

1	Oct	1884	Joseph M. Springman
29	Apr	1890	Perley S. Evans

Spring Vale [16]

20	Feb	1844	Joshua Loomis
14	Oct	1856	Joseph M. Remington
10	Dec	1856	Ransome S. Main
17	Apr	1860	George A. Rouzee
3	Dec	1860	John F. Swink
2	Jan	1866	Daniel L. Borden
12	Feb	1907	Discontinued

Sumac Flat [25]

23	Jun	1831	Hannah Hirst
5	May	1832	Discontinued

Theological Seminary [17]

30	Jan	1841	Edward R. Lippett
1	Jan	1842	Discontinued
16	Dec	1842	William Sparrow
15	Jan	1866	Miss Frances Sparrow
15	Jul	1872	William Sparrow
22	Jan	1874	Joseph Packard
28	Jun	1895	Samuel A. Wallis

Thornton's Depot [23]

Formerly Republicans Mills

27	Jun	1860	William H. Thornton
24	May	1867	Joseph Thornton
27	Aug	1868	Discontinued
21	Sep	1868	Joseph Thornton
18	Jan	1871	Discontinued
21	Mar	1871	E. M. Love
3	May	1871	William J. Powell
6	Dec	1871	James L. Robey
29	Aug	1872	Discontinued

Traveller's Rest [25]

15	Jan	1824	Joseph DeLaplane
25	Sep	1826	Discontinued

Vale[24]

19	Sept	1883	John F. Saunders
18	Feb	1905	George A. Saunders

Van Dorn [Unlisted by Stuntz but
established as a Confederate
Post Office]

Vienna[22]

Formerly Ayr Hill

20	May	1862	William Hendrick
28	Aug	1865	Josiah B. Brown
9	Jan	1868	William H. Lewis
22	Nov	1871	Simeon Welch
18	Aug	1874	Anderson Freeman
31	Aug	1885	Jas B. Bowman
7	Sep	1885	Josiah B. Bowman
31	May	1889	Abram C. Staats
28	Sep	1891	Harrie A. Bowman

West End[17]

28	Jul	1888	William M. Ellison
6	Aug	1888	William M. Ellison
29	Jun	1897	Willis Dixon

Wiehl[23]

22	Aug	1887	John R. Wiehle
27	Nov	1923	Changed to Sunset Hill

Willard[19]

13	Dec	1888	Harriet E. Detwiler
24	Jun	1892	Sarah C. Detwiler

Winter Hill[25]

9	Jul	1839	John Crump
14	Aug	1839	James Thrift
20	Jan	1840	Discontinued

A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION OF MILLING IN THE AREA ENCOMPASSED BY FAIRFAX COUNTY IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND THE END OF THE NINETEENTH

by
HAYWOOD WIGGLESWORTH

[Mr. Wigglesworth prepared this article in 1975 while taking a course at George Mason University. The editors have appended a partial list of mills in Fairfax County to Mr. Wigglesworth's work.]

INTRODUCTION

Any attempt to research mills in a given area of Fairfax County leaves the researcher convinced that the ancient instructions to Governor Wyatt "...to build water-mills...in every plantation"¹ were followed with abandon. The earlier small mills seem to have given way to larger Merchant Mills. Some of these Merchant Mills endured long enough to be studied in depth. For the purposes of this paper I selected some of these enduring mills and researched them. While generalizations on milling in Fairfax County cannot be conclusively drawn from such a small selection, it is still enlightening to examine the similarities in these mills and see what they indicate or reflect about the economic history of the county from the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth.

Some similarities are obvious—such as the relationship between Merchant Mills and improved roads. The extensive participation of Quakers in milling was not readily apparent until I got into my research.

Before discussing each of these mills separately it would be good to discuss the results of my research into economic developments in the county, the development of Turnpikes and the state of milling in general.

I. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COUNTY

It would appear that the definitive economic history of Fairfax County is yet to be written. William Oakes Lindeman has attempted to draw some conclusions in his research paper based mostly on census data. In working with the census figures for the period in which I am interested, he found a gradual decline in population in the early years of the nineteenth century until the 1840's. After that time the population gradually increased until recent years.²

Lindeman holds that this pattern of population growth is the result of the wearing out of the soil by exclusive cultivation of tobacco followed by a revolution in farming techniques brought on by the influx of northern immigrants in the 1840's.³ That the soil in Northern Virginia was worn out from cultivation and that the population was moving away is well supported. Examples of Virginians' awareness of the tendency of tobacco to wear out soil and require extensive slave holdings can be found in periodicals of the eighteenth century.⁴ Earl Gregg Swem in a footnote to an article on Virginia agriculture offers the figures illustrating Virginians' migration to the west in this period.⁵

The story of the Yankee farmers in Northern Virginia is related by Richard A. Abbott in his article by that name. Relying heavily on newspaper articles of the period, Abbott relates how in the 1840's many Quaker farmers from the north bought worn out farms in this area and using free labor and advanced techniques reclaimed the land for cultivation. They also set up grist and saw mills along the creeks and developed flourishing businesses.⁶ I followed Mr. Abbott's references and it is quite possible that the newspaper accounts he cites were a bit over done.

These newspaper accounts were chiefly the work of Samuel Janney, a Quaker writer whose articles appeared in the *Richmond Whig* and then the *Alexandria Gazette*. In his series "The Yankees in Fairfax" Janney described the farms and farming techniques of the immigrants stressing their use of plaster in the cultivation of wheat and their greater inclination to hard work than the native Virginians.⁷ Although the articles get repetitive in their emphasis on free, rather than slave labor, other writers commented on them.

While the contribution of the northern farmers cannot be belittled, there is ample evidence to suggest that their techniques were not new to the area. In 1790 an account of the advantages of deep ploughing and the use of manure appeared in *The Virginia Gazette & Alexandria Advertiser*.⁸ Moreover the advent of the "Loudoun System" had its effect on at least some farmers in Fairfax County. The "Loudoun System" is

attributed to the work of John Alexander Binns who improved his land through the use of lime beginning in the last few years of the eighteenth century. The descendents of Isreal Janney claim that Janney gave Binns the idea. However, Rodney H. True in his article credits Binns and his pamphlet with starting the movement to restore the fields in Loudoun through the use of lime and the cultivation of wheat.⁹ That this method of improving soil was in use at Sully Plantation prior to 1816 is evident from an advertisement quoted in Robert S. Gamble's book. The ad states that the soil has been improved with plaster of Paris. Janney's series of articles specifically mentions Sully Plantation but credits the later Quaker owner, Jacob Haight, with improving the soil.¹⁰ Ross and Nan Netherton credit the Moss family of Green Spring with being "scientific farmers" about this same time.¹¹

Since this paper focuses on a selection of Merchant Mills, I did not find substantial correlation between the economic life of the county and the success of the mills. Being located along turnpikes these mills would be milling grain brought in from outside the county and their success would not be tied solely to county trends.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF TURNPIKES

The desirability of locating a Merchant Mill along a turnpike is obvious. As my separate discussions of each mill will indicate the particular turnpike on which they were built was developed. Since most of the mills are nearest to the Little River Turnpike, I will focus on its development to illustrate the nature of the turnpikes.

Fairfax Harrison points out that as trade with the Shenandoah Valley increased in the late eighteenth century, the roads over which this trade was conducted became neglected owing to the fact that the local people, whose responsibility it was to keep the roads in good repair, resented doing this for the sole benefit of those who used them from out of the county.¹² We get an idea of this state of affairs from the writings of John Edwards Caldwell in the summer of 1808. He says, "I can say with truth I have found the roads in Virginia to be, as the Poet represents the ways of Providence, 'puzzled in mazes and perplexed in errors.'"¹³

Exactly when construction on the Little River Turnpike began is difficult to assess. Harrison points out that the earliest charter for a company to construct and operate a road along this route was granted in 1796 to a company which was succeeded by another company chartered in 1802.¹⁴ References to the turnpike road appear earlier than this in the various deeds I have uncovered. In Deed Book Y-1 at page 198 there is

a deed for a parcel of land, the description of which mentions the turnpike road. Its proximity to a corner of West, Pearson and Harrison's Patent indicates that it is far beyond the section of the Potomac Path (also called a turnpike) which ran with Little River Turnpike. In the preamble to the act passed in 1795 chartering the first turnpike company it is mentioned that the heavy trade along the route has necessitated the construction of a more substantial road, the cost of which ought to be borne by the users of the road.¹⁵ Perhaps this implies that work may have already started on the road and that seeking the charter was prompted by the need for additional money. In an article on turnpikes in general Robert F. Hunter states that roads were often built before all funds were collected.¹⁶ One of the commissioners appointed by the act of 1795 to sell shares in the company was Leven Powell of Loudoun. Leven Powell, Jr. of Alexandria is also listed as a commissioner so it would appear that the former Leven Powell is also the Leven Powell who built the Sally Mill in Loudoun in 1771.¹⁷ In examining the Act of Incorporation for the second company the activity of mill owners in turnpikes becomes even more apparent. William Hartshorne and John Thomas Ricketts appears as commissioners for Fairfax.¹⁸ Both these men were mill owners at this period as I will show later. Ricketts appears along with one of the Leven Powells; James Keith, a trustee for a mill a few years after and George Gilpin, a mill owner, in a memorandum to the legislature regarding the sale of the shares.¹⁹ As new sections of the Turnpike were opened, the company petitioned for men to be appointed to inspect them. One of these men was Phineas Janney²⁰ who is credited by Harrison of later managing the company so successfully that it continued to show a profit²¹ and who also, I have found, was active in the establishment of mills.

The Act of Incorporation and its amendment give us an idea of what the turnpike was like. Originally the road was to be thirty feet wide, but this was later widened to fifty feet. Twenty feet of the road's width was to be improved with gravel or stone. The rest was to be kept in good repair for use as a summer road with ditches on either side to provide adequate drainage. Typical tolls were 12¢ for a score of sheep, 6¢ per horse and 25¢ for a four-wheeled carriage per ten miles. Tolls varied with the type and weight of vehicle and between December first and May first heavy vehicles with narrow wheels were not allowed on the road.²²

These acts also show that the state took an interest in the success of the turnpikes. In 1804 the treasurer of the state was authorized to buy 100 shares of the company.²³ Moreover, the Board of Public Works, to whom progress reports were to be made, had a Principle Engineer to advise on

the best methods or routes for construction for the later turnpikes.²⁴

Two of these later turnpikes are worth mentioning because of their proximity to two of the mills. The road which is now called "Leesburg Pike" was originally called the "Ridge Road." As the Little River Turnpike became more popular and the Georgetown-Leesburg Turnpike developed, this road fell into disuse. Another company was chartered to build additional roads to link up these turnpikes but Ross Netherton reports that as late as 1838 the section which would have gone by Colvin Run Mill was not sufficiently improved to charge tolls. Netherton reports that the early owners of this mill were not active in improving the present day "Leesburg Pike" which runs by the mill, preferring to attempt to get the mill hooked up to the Georgetown Pike by means of a county road.²⁵ Harrison reports that the Columbia Turnpike was begun early in the nineteenth century to link Little River Turnpike with Washington.²⁶

III. MILLING INDUSTRY IN THE COUNTY

A discussion of the milling industry in general in Fairfax County is in order at this point so that we will know exactly what sort of activities the mills I selected were engaged in. A few authors have described these activities very well so I was able to rely on them for my understanding of milling.

I will not go into great depth on the mechanics of milling since those mills which I personally researched are no longer standing or have had their machinery removed. The mills which I researched were all water-powered, the water being diverted from a local stream by means of a dam into a ditch known as a millrace. At the mill the water passed over, abreast of or beneath the mill wheel which caused it to turn. Wooden gears inside transferred this energy to the rest of the machinery. The millstones tended to be around four feet in diameter. Most authors agree that French buhr stones were preferred, especially for flour that was to be exported, but local stone was often used.²⁷ The millstones were grooved in such a manner as to crush the grain between them in a scissors like motion. The grain was conveyed to the center of the stones and as it was ground it forced out the outer edges as flour. It was then collected and sifted using "boulting cloths."²⁸

Merchant Mills like those I chose to pursue differed from the earlier mills in the colony in size and the scope of their operation. Lloyd Payne in his pamphlet on milling explains that early in colonial times each plantation had a mill for its own use. Toward the end of the colonial period Merchant Mills began to appear which would grind other planters'

grain and also buy the grain for export and resale themselves.²⁹ This trend was reflected in the mills which I researched. As I will show later, in three cases the property bought for the mill had previously been sites for mills or had been very close to the site of a mill belonging to the owner of the original land grant. Arthur G. Peterson in his article points out that this transition from the small neighborhood mill to the Merchant Mill was accompanied by an improvement in milling machinery. His research revealed that improvements in milling developed in the late eighteenth century culminating in the inventions of Oliver Evans cut out much of the hand work in a mill and streamlined its operation.³⁰

Even before the rise of the Merchant Mills the milling industry was encouraged through the laws passed regulating it. These laws were continually revised but I will give a summary of their general thrust. In order to encourage the construction of mills, a legal process was set up whereby a person owning land on one side of a stream could petition the local court to order the owner of the land on the other side of the stream to convey an acre of ground to him to enable him to build a dam. Even if the builder of a mill owned land on both sides of the stream, he was compelled to petition the court for the writ of *ad quad damnum* in order that a jury of 12 "fit persons" could be chosen to survey the site and assess the damages that might result. The petitioner was then given one year to begin and three years to complete his mill.³¹ If a mill owner failed to complete his mill or if he let it fall into disuse for three years, the original owner of the land taken could petition for its return and build a mill himself.³² Payne suggests that laws like this encouraging milling and laws exempting the millers from militia duty represent one side of the ambivalent attitude toward millers which had developed through time.³³

The other side of this attitude is indicated, he feels, by the regulations governing the millers' business practices. Millers were apparently distrusted for they were required to have scaled measures on hand at the mill³⁴ which would be examined periodically.³⁵ Moreover, a miller was limited as to the percentage he could charge for custom grinding, that being one-eighth part of all grain to be ground into meal and one-sixteenth of all grain to be ground into hominy or malt. The miller was forbidden to keep swine unless he had at least fifty acres of land adjoining the mill.³⁶ While it occurs to me that this may have been for hygienic reasons, Payne suggests that it was aimed at preventing the miller from fattening up his hogs at his client's expense.³⁷

The rise of the Merchant Mills was accompanied by the passage of regulations concerning the inspection of flour. Flour was to be inspected in certain cities, among them Alexandria, and the regulations were very

careful to control the quality of the finished flour by providing for the true weight, grade and origin of the flour to be branded on the barrel.³⁸ Ultimately even the barrel itself was the subject of regulation as to its size, construction and even the number of nails required in its hoops.³⁹ Following passage of the first of these regulating acts, some confusion must have developed for a petition dated October 19, 1787 was presented to the House of Delegates from the merchants of Alexandria requesting that there be only one inspector of flour there.

Alexander Smith, the inspector for Alexandria, apparently found that the regulations were not being followed to the last letter. A notice from him appeared in *The Virginia Gazette* and *Alexandria Advertiser* stating that the reputation of the flour from his area was suffering owing to the fact that the barrels were not of regulation size and construction and calling for strict compliance by September 15, 1790. He also reminds the readers of his notice that he has an assortment of boulting cloths for sale.⁴¹ That the offending parties did not take this notice entirely to heart is evident from the fact that Smith found it necessary to publish another notice in July 1791 threatening condemnation for non-compliance.⁴²

IV. ACCOTINK MILL

While the Accotink Mill was not located on a road formally constructed as a turnpike, I believe that it deserves a place in this discussion because it illustrates the extensive involvement of Quakers in milling. The Accotink Mill was located fairly near the Potomac Path, which is now Route 1 and has been a major route since prehistoric times. Most likely its chief advantage was the nearness to the Potomac River and the navigability of Accotink Creek.⁴³

I was able to find out very little about the structure itself. A newspaper advertisement for it describes it as running "four pair of burrs" (stones).⁴⁴ As far as the construction of the mill is concerned, the newspaper is silent.

We can be fairly certain that the Accotink Mill was constructed sometime in the early nineteenth century since the deed from Daniel McCarty's heirs to Zachariah Gardner and Joseph Dean specifically mentions mills intended to be erected by them in connection with the thirty acre parcel being purchased by deed dated July 23, 1804.⁴⁵

Evidently, Jonathan Janney acquired the mill from these gentlemen because we find him retaining possession of it in a complicated Deed of Trust dated January 15, 1825.⁴⁶ Other parties in this trust are Samuel M. Janney and Phinneas Janney.

This proliferation of Janneys is rather confusing, but I think I may have

straightened it out. Jonathan Janney, a Quaker is most likely the brother of Phinneas Janney, the Quaker of Little River Turnpike fame, and the son of Isreal Janney, rival to John Binns as the originator of the Loudoun system. This Samuel M. Janney may very well be the same Samuel Janney who wrote about the Yankee farmers and nephew to Phinneas and Jonathan, but he would have to have been a young man at this time.⁴⁷

Since we will encounter Phinneas Janney again, I will continue to deal with Jonathan. Jonathan Janney apparently retained the mill, in a heavily mortgaged state, until he died. At that time it was conveyed by Samuel Janney to Phinneas Janney⁴⁸ and sold at auction to Edward Daingerfield and Richard Windsor⁴⁹ who also owned another mill that I will deal with later. The notice for the auction of the property stresses its ideal location near the Potomac. Not only could the miller grind wheat being brought into Alexandria and take care of the local business, but also, the ad suggests, the owner could obtain grain to grind in Alexandria. Moreover the mill was said to be capable of manufacturing nearly one hundred barrels of flour in a day.⁵⁰

We cannot be certain what Windsor and Daingerfield did to the mill besides failing to pay off their mortgage. However, I found that the mill was advertised to be sold at auction again in August, 1841, this time claiming to only be capable of producing eighty barrels of flour in twenty-four hours. Regardless, it was said to be in good repair.⁵¹ In the suit to foreclose⁵² a John C. Vowell appears as committee for Windsor and Daingerfield. This is interesting since a John C. Vowell had formerly owned Windsor's other mill.

There is a deed dated April 15, 1844 relating the details of the sale of the mill to George Fletcher for \$5,450.⁵³ As often occurs in the old land records, this is preceded by a deed of the same date where Fletcher seemingly sells the property at a loss to Absalom Remington.⁵⁴ This may represent some sort of maneuver to sell the land for capital while retaining the right to run the mill. Whatever the situation was it did not endure for in May 10, 1847 we find a deed to Jacob Troth of Camden, New Jersey.⁵⁵

Jacob Troth, it turns out, was one of the amazing Yankee farmers. "Farmer" may be an understatement since he and his associates purchased considerable property apparently with the intention of shipping lumber and flour north by water.⁵⁶

In November 1847 Troth conveyed the mill to himself and his other Quaker Associates—Chalkley Gillingham, Lucas Gillingham and Paul Hillman Troth.^{56a} Apparently this latter gentleman ran the mill for we find his house shown on the mill lot in Hopkins 1879⁵⁷ map of the area. The mill is shown as a grist and sawmill. This is the first reference I found

to this latter capability and it may represent some changes made by the Yankees. Chataigne's Directory lists a G. H. Troth as a miller in Accotink in 1887-88.⁵⁸

This mill enjoyed the advantages of Quaker ownership both early and late in life. It indicates a pattern of Quakers organizing together to run this sort of enterprise.

V. TRIADELPHIA OR CLOUD'S MILL

While the memory of the prolific Janneys is still in the readers mind, I would like to focus on another mill which felt their influence. As later deeds relate, in 1813 Abijah Janney, David Lupton and Peter Saunders began purchasing tracts of land on the south side of Holmes Run near what is now Paxton Street. Adjacent to the Little River Turnpike the deed for one of these parcels states in no uncertain terms that Janney and his associates are about to erect a mill.⁵⁹ From this and a deed of trust mentioning the mill, which is dated 1817, we can deduce the approximate date of the mill's construction.⁶⁰

Another deed into Abijah Janney and his associates for part of what became of the mill tract is particularly interesting because of the survey plat attached. The property is being conveyed by George Summers. The land was surveyed by a man named Summers who was apparently in the habit of embellishing his first name to the point of illegibility, using Thomas Summers and James Cloud as Sworn Chain Carriers.⁶¹ I believe the presence of James Cloud in this endeavor indicates that he may have run this mill many years before he actually owned it. Having surveyed in this very same area on a smaller tract with a lighter chain, I would hope that he had a better excuse than I to be there. The deed is attested to and entered into record by none other than John Thomas Ricketts of turnpike fame whose role in mill building I will reveal later.

Before we lose track of Abijah Janney, it would be well to identify him. I believe he is the same Abijah Janney who was father to Samuel M. Janney and brother to Phinneas and Jonathan Janney.⁶² The wording of the deeds of trust show that Phinneas Janney endorsed notes of Abijah Janney on his portion of the mill to James Keith, whom I mentioned before as a figure in the Little River Turnpike.⁶³

Lyon Gardiner Tyler reports that Phinneas Janney was a prominent wine merchant in Alexandria and a friend to Henry Clay.⁶⁴ We have seen that he was involved in more activities than this. Moreover in Deed Book C-3 at page 127 he is listed as president of the Bank of the Potomac.

James Cloud bought Janney's one-third interest in the Triadelphia

Mill in 1835.⁶⁶ Since the other two-thirds had been conveyed by their respective owners to Mordecai Miller, who died. Cloud was compelled to collect the various one-sixth interests through a series of deeds.⁶⁶

In 1863 James Cloud sold the mill to Edward H. Delahay who perhaps having had difficulty carrying on milling with the war close at hand filed for bankruptcy in 1868. The mill may not have been a booming business in this period since in 1873 the new owner Cornelius Jacobs was foreclosed upon.⁶⁷ James Cloud's tenure had given the mill its popular name. The notice of the sale describes it as "Clouds Mill" in addition to using the name "Triadelphia Mill."⁶⁸ James Carlin, who bought the mill at the foreclosure sale⁶⁹ was apparently able to run it successfully for he is listed as a miller in Chataigne's Directory⁷⁰ and it did not change hands again until he died.⁷¹

The property was owned briefly by the Alexandria Water Company in order to secure an easement to their Reservoir at Lake Barcroft.

Since Cloud's mill is no longer standing, I know very little of its physical appearance. Mr. Vernon Cockrell recalls that it was a frame structure about half the size of the mill owned by his father,⁷² which I will deal with next. The mill race was apparently of considerable size. A ditch was pointed out to me as being the old mill race and in tracing it on a map of the area, I find it runs about 2,100 feet. Most likely the long length of this race can be attributed to the necessity of conveying water with sufficient head to the mill which was built on a rise above Holmes Run. The water had to be diverted far enough upstream to prevent its having to flow uphill.

While Quaker influence was not responsible for sustaining the life of this mill, it was most assuredly felt in the building of the mill. A similar statement can be made about the next mill.

VI. OLD DOMINION OR PHOENIX MILL

My research indicates that this mill was constructed by William Hartshorne, a Quaker and possibly George Gilpin both of whom we encountered in the discussion of the Little River Turnpike. It is not surprising, therefore, that this mill is located just off Route 236. They both appear to have been active in the flour trade for I found that William Hartshorne was one of the merchants writing in 1787 to request a single inspector for flour⁷³ and that George Gilpin is listed in March 1775 as a flour inspector.⁷⁴ Exactly when the existing structure was constructed is not certain, but there is reference for a decree allowing Hartshorne to obtain an acre of land from Gilpin. The order book containing the decree

has been lost, but the survey of the land in 1776-1777 appears in the land records.⁷⁵

The extent of Gilpin's investment in the enterprise is not clear. In 1775 he and Hartshorne purchased some of the lots of the Harrison tract, one of which, incidentally, had had a mill on it.⁷⁶ Gilpin also appears in a reshuffling of the boundaries of these lots.⁷⁷ However, in a deed of trust dated 1792 only Hartshorne is mentioned.⁷⁸ Gilpin would not have been allowed to be both an inspector and mill owner.⁷⁹

The mill seems to have been a going concern by the end of the eighteenth century. The deed of trust I mentioned above specifically calls for a Merchant Mill on the property. Moreover, a survey of the neighborhood begun in 1797 shows a mill below William Hartshorne's house in what may be the location of this mill today.⁸⁰

Ultimately Hartshorne was foreclosed on. The notice for the sale describes a mill substantially the same as the one still in existence. It is described as being a brick mill 55 feet by 45 feet, four stories high. Moreover, it features three pair of large burr and one pair of country mill stones capable of manufacturing ten thousand barrels of flour annually. The property was sold to Thomas Wilson of Jefferson County by deed dated September 14, 1812.⁸¹

Wilson died and in the deed dividing his property, I found the first reference to the mill as the "Phoenix Mill." The deed also includes a plat of the property showing part of the millrace.⁸² I was able to plot this plat and overlay it on a modern map. I then scaled the millrace and found it to run about four thousand feet before reaching the mill. Most likely we have the same situation here as we do at Clouds Mill.

This deed I have just cited is dated May 20, 1823 and conveys the mill lot to David Wilson and Martha Brown. Another mill, in Jefferson County, is mentioned so it appears that Thomas Wilson was a mill owner rather than a miller. Wilson's heirs apparently held the property for some time until it was sold to a man named Benone Wheat in 1841.⁸³ After Wheat's death it was sold to a Peter Tresler in 1853 who immediately conveyed it to three men with the last name of Watkins.⁸⁴ The notice of this sale relates that it was formerly called the Phoenix Mill and stresses its proximity not only to Little River Turnpike but also to the Railroad.⁸⁵

It would appear that the Watkins' owned and ran the mill for some time since it does not change hands again until June, 1888.⁸⁶ It is shown on Hopkin's map as the Old Dominion Mills⁸⁷ and subsequent deeds call it that also.⁸⁸

Mr. Vernon Cockrell, whom I mentioned before related that it was his

grandfather, Charles B. Cockrell, who purchased the mill in 1903.⁸⁹ Mr. Cockrell states that the mill was used to grind corn meal for sale in Washington until 1928 or 29. Subsequent owners dismantled the mechanism in the thirties. At this time Mr. Jerry Hasky, of the Alexandria Water Company, observed it and he recently described his recollections of the mechanism to me.⁹⁰ His description corresponds to the description of an Evans Mill in Netherton's paper on Holmes Run, so I refer the reader to that.

VII. CAMERON MILLS

Harrison points out that there was an old mill in this location from early colonial times citing a will from 1752.⁹¹ My research indicates that this older mill was rebuilt by a man named William Bird. Deeds tell us that in 1790 he purchased an eight acre parcel which included a mill seat which he proposed to improve.⁹² About this time Bird also purchased rights of way for a millrace.⁹³

At this point the conveyances of land get a little confusing, but I will endeavor to reconstruct them as best I can. Bird conveyed part of his eight acres to John Stump and John Thomas Ricketts. Ricketts, as I mentioned before, was active in the construction of Little River Turnpike a few years later. Ricketts and Stump purchased additional land in the area,⁹⁴ part of it being a ten acre parcel for the construction of a mill dam.⁹⁵ Bird evidently conveyed his rights to the property where the race was to run to Stump and Ricketts, receiving a share of the ten acre parcel and agreeing to pay half of the expense of constructing the millrace.⁹⁶

After all these maneuvers we might expect the millrace to be quite a piece of work. It truly was. Apparently the water was not diverted at the ten acre parcel at all. The 1823 plat I mentioned⁹⁷ in the previous section shows Ricketts' millrace beginning on what is now Cameron Run a little below Wilson's Tail Race. The ten acre parcel also appears some distance downstream, in the identical shape and location as it was originally platted.⁹⁸ Scaling the route of the race on a modern map, I found it ran at least 8,000 feet. This extra length was probably necessitated by the flatness of the terrain and the fact that it powered two mills. Substantial portions of the millrace were straightened by Alexandria Water Company in 1866⁹⁹ so it is difficult to say for certain who engineered the viaduct for the race over Taylor Run, which Mr. Hasky showed me a picture of.

Returning to the mills themselves, I think we can assume they were constructed in the early 1790's. A pair of mills appears in their location on I. V. Thomas' Map of 1798¹⁰⁰ and also on a plat recorded in 1804.¹⁰¹

Bird conveyed his mill, apparently the eastern one to John Mandeville and shortly thereafter it was foreclosed on.¹⁰² In 1799 John C. Vowell and Thomas Vowell came into possession of the mill.¹⁰³ To make matters more complicated, shares of the mill were conveyed to Stump and Ricketts. David Ricketts enters the picture here, getting an interest in John Thomas Ricketts holdings.¹⁰⁴

In this latter transaction John Thomas Ricketts is living on the mill site so perhaps he ran the mill. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that a patent was issued to a John Thomas Ricketts for a rice huller in 1808.¹⁰⁵

A schedule of property connected with the will recorded in Deed Book J-2 at page 202 gives us some insight into the nature of milling. Mill picks appear presumably for sharpening the stones. Empty barrels and cask nails also appear along with the sort of tools we would expect to be used in barrel making. Branding irons are listed perhaps for marking the barrels and also a toll dish. Hogs are listed giving us an indication that he still had considerable acreage and also three quarters of a barrel of whiskey and a cask of cheap wine.

It appears that in the 1830's both mills came into the possession of Richard Windsor,¹⁰⁶ whom I mentioned before in connection with the Accotink Mill. Windsor sold the land to Reuben and Robert F. Roberts in 1848. Dr. John Roberts, a descendent tells me that these men were Quakers who came down from the north.¹⁰⁷

Once in the hands of the Yankees, Bird's mill changed its nature somewhat. The Roberts' formed the Alexandria Water Company, sold Bird's Mill to it¹⁰⁸ in 1851 and installed a pump in the mill. This pump was operated by the water from the millrace and would pump some of this water from the race into their reservoir. Vestiges of the stone mill still exist in the present day pumphouse. The other mill, however, which was existing in ruins when Mr. Hasky¹⁰⁹ went to work for the Water Company has entirely disappeared.

VIII. BARCROFT MILL

I believe that the mill known as the Barcroft Mill was actually constructed by a man named Douglas. The mill, when constructed, was convenient to the Little River Turnpike. When the turnpike road which became Columbia Pike was constructed, the location was more ideal.

This mill, like the two I mentioned previously was built on the site of an earlier mill. The earlier mill is shown on a plat of the property which is attached to the deed of John Douglas dated August 24, 1810.¹¹⁰ Ap-

parently Douglas was sure of obtaining the land prior to this deed because in a writ of *ad quod damnum* recorded before it we find that his application was heard on July 15, 1810. The deed describes all the care and consideration given the application and ultimately gives him permission to erect the mill.¹¹¹ This is the only writ I found in this chain of title. Moreover, the legal description of an abutting parcel conveyed in the 1830's calls for a point of beginning above the sawmill.¹¹² When John Douglas sells the property to George North in 1812, its value has risen from \$900 to 15,500.¹¹³ This gives us an additional reason to suspect that John Douglas had erected a mill and that his mill and the Adams mill are not the same. A comparison of the old plat I mentioned before and a more recent plat showing the ruins of Barcroft's mill¹¹⁴ reveals that they were in different places.

The early owners of the mill seem to have met with limited success. At North's death the mill had to be sold at auction to pay off his trust. Benjamin Thornton purchased it at this time,¹¹⁵ but he was soon foreclosed on in 1822. The notice of this sale refers to it as "a Grist and Saw Mills."¹¹⁷ The mill was then sold to Robert Taylor¹¹⁸ who turns out to have been an agent for the Bank of Potomac. In 1831 he conveyed the property to William Kehoe by an unrecorded deed. In 1838 Kehoe conveyed the property to Smith Minor by another unrecorded deed. All these facts are revealed to us in the transaction from Minor to Ambrose Barcroft.¹¹⁹

These last few transactions seem to have been normal sales rather than foreclosures and could conceivably be construed to mean that the completion of Columbia Pike had made the mill a paying proposition.

Ambrose Barcroft sold the mill to John Barcroft in 1866 for less than he paid for it.¹²⁰ While this may represent fraternal generosity it more likely gives proof to a story which many sources quote that the mill was damaged during the Civil War.

The legal description remains the same throughout the history of this mill except that somewhere before the Barcrofts got it, it becomes only 24 acres. This is most likely a typographical error since calculations I made in an idle moment produce an area of about 24½ acres for the tract.

It is thought by some that milling operations were curtailed for this mill by the Civil War. This would seem to be denied by \$6,000 price of the property when Barcroft sold it in 1873.¹²¹ By 1875 the new owner, Arnold, has been foreclosed on and William Reed acquired it.¹²² The fact that it was known as the "Reed Mill"¹²³ property after this may indicate that he ran it as a mill. Moreover in Hopkins' atlas of 1879 a T. R. Reed

and a Grist and Sawmill are shown in their proper location.¹²⁴

Ultimately the property was conveyed to the Alexandria Water Company to become part of the tract turned into the former Reservoir which is now Lake Barcroft.¹²⁵ Both Dr. Roberts and Mr. Hasky were told that this move would assure Alexandria of ample water for years to come.¹²⁶ The old mill structures which I have discussed were still important as methods to convey this water to the big pump at Cameron.

IX. COLVIN RUN MILL

Borrowing exclusively from Netherton I would like to briefly discuss his findings in his research on Colvin Run Mill.

As I mentioned before, Netherton points out that Colvin Run was most likely an Evans Mill. It's construction has been attributed to the period between 1810 and 1820 perhaps utilizing another structure.¹²⁷

Netherton feels that the length of the millrace, 2,400 feet, was excessive, but believes that a long millrace permitted the mill to be built close to the turnpike.¹²⁸ The millrace at Colvin Run was apparently brick-lined. The existing fragments of the races to the Cameron Mills and Cloud's Mill appear not to have been as best I can tell from my observation. This has been confirmed by those who have seen the races in the past.

Colvin Run Mill is brick like the Old Dominion Mill and about the same size. It has, however, one less story.¹²⁹

Netherton points out that the mill apparently prospered early in the nineteenth century. It retained its value while the Carper family had it and also in the early years that the Powell family owned it. Powell was forced into bankruptcy in 1872 and so the mill was ultimately sold in 1883 to the family who retained it into this century.¹³⁰ Netherton attributes this development to the destruction caused by the Civil War.¹³¹

X. CONCLUSIONS

Before I began my research I suspected that the development of the mills I researched would be related to the growth of turnpikes. I was impressed to find, however, actual involvement of mill owners in the building of the Little River Turnpike. Apparently mill owners were mostly businessmen and not simply millers.

It was not surprising to learn that the fortunes of mills were not tied simply to local economic conditions. In all cases the mills were constructed at a time when the county's economy was in a decline. The simple increase in county population was not sufficient to prevent the

failure of many of the mills in the period after the Civil War.

As I engaged in my research, I had hopes of encountering Yankee farmers' involvement in my mills. I found them and that was not surprising as it was already history. What was surprising to me was the involvement of so many Quakers in the development of the mills.

There is one possible explanation that comes to mind. Samuel M. Janney's writings were considered to be abolitionist because of his constant emphasis on hard work and free labor. It requires no great leap of faith to assume that his religion, as lived by his uncles and father formed his opinions early in life. The Quakers in their aversion to slavery may have sought to engage in trade and merchant milling in order to avoid the use of slaves.

In closing the paper I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Jerry Hasky for his time spent in showing me various mills and millraces and also for his generosity in loaning me some of his photos. Also I would like to thank Mr. Vernon Cockrell and Dr. John Roberts for their help and information.

FOOTNOTES

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⁶Richard H. Abbott, "Yankee Farmers in Northern Virginia 1840-1860," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 1968, p. 57.

⁷*Alexandria Gazette*, September 12, 1845-October 8, 1845.

⁸*The Virginia Gazette and Alexandria Advertiser*, December 23, 1790.

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¹³John Edwards Caldwell, *A Tour Through Part of Virginia in the Summer of 1808*. (Belfast: Smyth and Lyons, 1810; reprint ed., Richmond, Virginia: The Dietz Press Inc., 1951), p. 41.

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¹⁵Samuel Shepherd, *The Statutes At Large of Virginia*, 3 vols. (Richmond, 1835 reprint ed., New York, AMS Press, Inc., 1970), I, p. 378.

¹⁶Robert F. Hunter, "The Turnpike Movement in Virginia 1816-1860," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. 69 (July 1961), p. 281.

¹⁷*Loudoun Times Mirror*, August 8, 1968.

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¹⁹H. W. Flournoy, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts*, 11 vols. (Richmond 1890, reprint ed. New York, Krause Reprint Corporation 1968) IX (Jan. , 1799 to Dec. 31, 1807), p. 338.

²⁰*Ibid.*, X (Jan. 1, 1808-Dec. 31, 1835, p. 44.

²¹Harrison, *Landmarks*, p. 565.

²²Shepherd, II, pp. 383 and 452.

²³*Ibid.*, III, p. 198.

²⁴Hunter, "Turnpike Movement," p. 281.

²⁵Ross D. Netherton, "Colvin Mill Run & Millers House," unpublished revised draft in type script, p. 55.

²⁶Harrison, *Landmarks*, p. 569.

²⁷Lloyd Payne, *The Miller in Eighteenth Century Virginia* (Williamsburg, Colonial Williamsburg Craft series, 1957), p. 29.

²⁸Netherton, *Colvin Run Mill*, p. 17.

²⁹Arthur G. Peterson, "Flour and Grist Milling in Virginia." *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XLIII (April 1935), p. 99.

³⁰Hening, XII, p. 187.

³¹Shepherd, III, P. 375.

³²Payne, *Miller*, p. 2.

³³Shepherd, I, pp. 136-138.

³⁴Hening, IX, p. 511.

³⁵*Ibid.*, XII, pp. 187-190.

³⁶Payne, *Miller*, p. 2.

³⁷Hening, IX, p. 250.

³⁸*Ibid.*, XIII, p. 517.

³⁹*William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd Ser., II (Oct. 1922), 289-291.

⁴⁰*The Virginia Gazette and Alexandria Advertiser*, August 5, 1790.

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⁴²*The Alexandria Gazette*, March 23, 1839.

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⁴⁵William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, 4 vols. (Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc. 1973) IV, pp. 753-758.

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⁴⁷*Ibid.*, Deed Book G-3, p. 1.

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⁴⁹*Ibid.*, August 18, 1841.

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- ⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 172.
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- ⁵⁶Horace D. Buckman, "The Quakers Come to Woodlawn," *Yearbook of the Historical Society of Fairfax County Virginia, Inc.*, Vol. 9 (1964-1965).
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- ⁶⁰*Ibid.*, Deed Book C-3, p. 127.
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- ⁶⁶*Ibid.*, Deed Book E-4, p. 44.
- ⁶⁷*Ibid.*, Deed Book Q-4, p. 278.
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- ⁷⁰*Fairfax Historical Society Yearbook*, Vol. 11, p. 90.
- ⁷¹Fairfax County Land Records, Deed Book A-6, p. 416.
- ⁷²Mr. Vernon Cockrell, personal interview with Author, March, 1975.
- ⁷³*W&M Quarterly* No. 2, V. II, p. 291.
- ⁷⁴*Ibid.*, No. 1, V. XI, p. 246.
- ⁷⁵Fairfax County Land Records, D. B. M-1, p. 320.
- ⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 147.
- ⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 243.
- ⁷⁸*Ibid.*, D. B. W-1, p. 46.
- ⁷⁹Hening, *Statutes*, V, p. 511.
- ⁸⁰Land Records of Fairfax County, Records of Surveys, Vol. 2, p. 83.
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- ⁸³*Ibid.*, D. B. G-3, p. 140.
- ⁸⁴*Ibid.*, D. B. S-3, p. 397.
- ⁸⁵*Alexandria Gazette*, January 8, 1853.
- ⁸⁶Land Records of Fairfax County, D. B. H-5, p. 50.
- ⁸⁷Hopkins Map.
- ⁸⁸Land Records of Fairfax County, D. B. L-6, p. 659.
- ⁸⁹Vernon Cockrell, personal interview, April, 1975.
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- ⁹⁸*Ibid.*, D. B. T-1, p. 259.
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- ¹⁰⁰Map of Alexandria by I. V. Thomas.
- ¹⁰¹Fairfax County Land Records, D. B. E-2, p. 269.
- ¹⁰²*IBID.*, D. B. B-2, p. 405.
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- ¹¹⁸Fairfax County Land Records, D. B. W-2, p. 24.
- ¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, D. B. N-3, p. 259.
- ¹²⁰*Ibid.*, D. B. F-4, p. 471.
- ¹²¹*Ibid.*, D. B. Q-4, p. 200.
- ¹²²*Ibid.*, D. B. T-4, p. 108.
- ¹²³*Ibid.*, D. B. M-6, p. 298.
- ¹²⁴Hopkins Atlas.
- ¹²⁵Fairfax County Land Records, D. B. N-6, p. 566.
- ¹²⁶Personal interviews as noted before.
- ¹²⁷Netherton, Colvin Run Mill, pp. 41-42.
- ¹²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 41.
- ¹²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 120.
- ¹³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 69.
- ¹³¹*Ibid.*, p. 58.

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- Mr. Vernon Cockrell
 - Mr. Jerry Hasky
 - Dr. John Roberts

PARTIAL LIST OF MILLS IN FAIRFAX COUNTY

This partial list of mills, by water course, is appended to Mr. Wigglesworth paper through the courtesy of Lawrence Mitchell a former director of the Historical Society of Fairfax County.

Four Mile Run and Branches:

Lubber Run, Roaches Run, Doctors Run, Long Branch

Lillard's Mill
 Chubb's Mill
 Masterson's Mill
 Colville's Mill
 Roaches' Mill
 Carlyle's Mill

Adams Mill
 Balls Mill
 Custis' Mill
 Arlington Mill
 Barcroft

Holmes Run

Gabriel Adams
 Wm Adams
 Barcroft

Herbert
 Tridelphia or Clouds
 Nelson's Mill

Hunting Creek and Cameron Run

Cameron
Minors
Balls

Colville
Hunt and Roberts

Dogue and Little Hunting Creek

Washington Mill

Accotink

Owsley
Whaley
Green
Accotink Bone Mill
Payne

Fitzhugh
Keene
Chichester
McCarty
Rock Hill Grist Mill

Pohick

Grayson
Boggess
Mason
Chichester Mill Seat

Gardeners
Keen's Saw
Burkes
Farr's

Occoquan River

Merchants
Ballendine
Semple
Ewell

[all in
Pr. Wm.]

Priests
Sudduth, (Wolf Run)
Occoquan Saw Mill

Wolf Run

Geo Lamphin petitioned to build mill in 1771.

Bull Run and Its Branches

Grayson
Sudduth
Union-Turley-Dye-Kincheloe*

Thomas
Pollard

*names connected with hyphens are thought to be the same mill under various owners.

Pope's Head, Johnny Moore and Piney Branch:

Hope Park - Robey's
Detweiler, John L.

Union-Dye-Turley's-Holsapple
Bull Run Talc and Soapstone (1907)

Great Rocky Cedar Run

Newton-Kinchloe
LaneBritton-Triplett-Cabell-Pittman-
Settle-May-Smith-Radford-Lawrence

Little Rocky Run

Blackburn

Horse Pen Run(Flows into Broad Run in Loudoun County)

Hughes

Burnt

Mine Branch

Simmons

Pimmitt

Adams-Nelson (after 1825)

Patterson (woolen and flour)

Scotts Run

Balls

Swinks (formerly Welsh's)

Sugarland and Folly Lick

Austen
Herndon

Coleman

Spout Run

Mason's Mill

Difficult Run and Branches:

Fairfax-Towlson

Jackson (later Leigh)

Mercer

Washington

Trammel

Masterson

Lewis

Fox

Waples

Stuart

Hawxhurst

Colvin Run-Carper-Powell-Millard

Thornton

Garners

Browns-Broadwater

Simmonds

Hunters

Johnson

POOR RELIEF IN TRURO PARISH: 1732 - 1785 AN ANALYSIS

by
ELENA DALY CASSEL

[This study was originally prepared for a seminar at George Mason University in 1975 by Elena Daly Cassel (Mrs. Alan). It later formed the basis for the author's Master of Arts Thesis.]

The parish vestry was as important to the development of local self-government in colonial Virginia as the town meeting was in colonial New England. Because the parish was frequently the first form of civil organization in a district, the vestry assumed certain political, social, and moral responsibilities in lieu of a local civil authority. This diversity of responsibility trained many vestrymen in the art and skills of representative government.

This paper considers one of the basic functions of the parish vestry—poor relief. The purpose of this study is to determine the importance, the scope, and the viability of the poor relief system in eighteenth century Truro Parish. In Virginia, during the 1700's, poor relief included the care of the aged, the infirm, the economically disadvantaged, and dependent children. The category of dependent children included children who were orphaned, neglected, poverty-stricken, and illegitimate, as well as those mentally or physically incompetent.

The vestry minutes provide a substantial amount of information regarding the amount of monies spent by the parish for poor relief. There are notations in the minutes which identify the people considered to require parish assistance, the type of assistance they received, and the length of time they received the assistance.

The records of Fairfax County add to this information. The *Court Minute and Order Books* contain the records of the indentures of poor children by the parish vestry between 1749 and 1785. The vestry minutes list indentures only until 1749. Therefore, a comparison of these records complete the picture of the indenture system.

A systematic interpretation of the facts required a statistical analysis. Therefore, I have formulated a series of tables to demonstrate the scope

of the poor relief program in Truro Parish. There is, of course, an inherent danger in relying too heavily on a series of isolated facts and tables. Statistics can be misleading. Therefore, I have attempted to explain each table with an eye to as many logical interpretations as possible. It is in this area in particular that alternative sources to the vestry book and the county records have proven valuable. Primary sources such as Robert Beverly's *The History and Present State of Virginia* and Hugh Jones' *The Present State of Virginia from Whence is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina* supplied insights not apparent in the compilation of figures and monies alone.

The result of this type of investigation is a synthesis of information that clarifies a part of the common life of Fairfax County during the 1700's. Poor relief was a significant part of the responsibility of the parish vestry. The amounts of time, money, and attention allocated to the problem testify to this. I hope to clarify some of the more pragmatic aspects of eighteenth century poor care.

There are certain problems in this type of study and this should be recognized at the outset. The records from this era are not always complete. Therefore, some information is, at best, sketchy. The vestry minutes are sometimes vague or indefinite. References to monies supplied to unnamed persons for unspecified reasons complicate the attempt to interpret the minutes as a source of concrete data. Some records are simply not available. Pages missing or illegible in county books add to the frustration of formulating conclusions on the topic.

Because of the mobility of the population at this time it is difficult to follow up on persons named in the minute books. This is a particular disadvantage with regard to indentured children, who upon completing the terms of their indentures frequently left the area. Had it been possible to trace these children further some long-term conclusions about the indenture system would have resulted.

Before beginning the actual analysis of the minute book, it is necessary to establish certain facts regarding poor relief in general and Truro Parish in particular. Therefore, the first section of this paper considers the care of the indigent in Virginia, as well as a description of Truro Parish itself.

I. POOR RELIEF IN VIRGINIA

The system of poor relief in the colonies was derived from the English system. That the state held some responsibility for the care of the poor, that it was just to compel those with property to help support the

dependent classes through a system of general taxation, that the local community was responsible for the care of its own poor, and that there were different classes of poor were the foundations of the system.

In 1646 the colony of Virginia passed its first workhouse law.¹ It provided for the establishment of a flax house at Jamestown where children from all over the colony whose parents "by reason of their poverty are disabled to maintain and educate them"² were to learn carding, knitting, and spinning. Basically this law was one of a series passed between 1633 and 1696 to encourage the development of the linen industry.³

In the 1661-1662 session of the House of Burgesses the law of 1646 was repealed and the system was modified to include the concept of basic education. A 1705 law further defined the 1646 statute and stated that "...the master of every such orphan shall be obliged to teach him to read and write."⁴ This statute listed poor orphans, children improperly cared for because of parental poverty, disordered lives, or carelessness, and illegitimate children as the groups subject to forced apprenticeship. Originally the job of apprenticing poor orphans was given to the county justices.⁵ However, apprenticeship of bastard children, because of the religious and social stigma attached to the condition of their birth, was given to the parish wardens.⁶ Those children whose parents were deemed too poor or too careless to care for them were assigned to the county justices' roster until 1727 and thereafter they became the concern of the parish wardens.⁷

Concern for the increased number of vagabond poor led to the enactment of a 1755 law designed to furnish a test for destitution and willingness to work. The law restricted the mobility of the vagabond poor to prevent the collection of benefits from a succession of parishes.

The problem of illegitimate children was considered separately from the general class known as poor children. Because of the social and religious repercussions of the state of their birth, specific legislation was required to handle the situation. In November, 1769, laws were passed requiring the fathers of bastard children born of single free women to indemnify the parish for the charge of the children's maintenance or be jailed; the mother of the child was to be fined twenty shillings and the money was to revert to the parish poor. Early colonial law had required that bastard children be bound out as servants, but in 1769 it was further stipulated that the master provide clothes, food, lodging, and education. Servants who had illegitimate children were required to serve an additional year of servitude.⁸

Although there were provisions for the establishment of workhouses for the poor, the most frequently used method of poor relief was for

the parish vestry to reimburse individuals who tended the poor.⁹ This method allowed for the care of those wholly disabled as well as those needing only temporary or partial relief. When the vestry convened to determine the amount of the annual tithe, it was presented with bill for poor care during the previous year. These expenses were computed with the other parish expenses and the total was divided by the number of parish tithables. The resulting number became the parish tithe for the year. The tithe was most frequently figures in pounds of tobacco. This provided a convenient and familiar form of exchange.

The quality of poor care declined during the latter part of the eighteenth century because of changes in Virginia society, the decline of the Anglican church, the westward movement of the population, the formation of large back country parishes, and the delay in the formation of new parishes.¹⁰ In 1780 the Virginia Legislature passed an act which dissolved the vestries of seven western counties and provided for the election of overseers of the poor. In 1782 the vestries of five more parishes were dissolved. By 1785 poor relief in Virginia had become the concern of the civil government.

II. TRURO PARISH

On November 7, 1732, the first vestry of Truro Parish convened. The newly elected vestrymen included Charles Broadwater, Richard Osborne, John Lewis, Gabriel Adams, Edward Emons, Denis McCarty, John Heryford, and Edward Barry. From these men John Heryford and Edward Emons were selected to serve as the first Church Wardens for the parish.¹¹ In 1742 Fairfax County was organized and its boundaries defined as being coterminus with those of Truro Parish. In 1744, a petition to the colonial legislature claimed that the Truro vestry had been illegally elected and was comprised of men not well qualified for such an office. The petition claimed that some of the vestrymen were illiterate. The legislature dissolved the vestry and ordered the sheriff to provide for a new election. In 1745 a new vestry was approved by the colonial government and duly authorized to function.¹² Because of population growth the Assembly divided the parish to form Cameron Parish in 1749, thereby reducing the size of Truro Parish by 75%. The parish boundaries were then listed as Difficult Run on the west and a line from the head of Difficult Run to the mouth of Rocky Run.¹³ The parish was divided further in 1765 when the Assembly created Fairfax Parish. This division caused a great deal of bitterness because Truro suffered the loss of a substantial number of tithables. The vestry minutes for October 9, 1764,

list 1,879 tithables in the parish. In February of 1765, Truro Parish claimed 962 tithables to Fairfax Parish 1,013. This situation was remedied during the summer of 1765 when the Assembly divided the parish more equitably and returned the prestigious Mt. Vernon to the confines of Truro Parish.¹⁴

For some men who served on the vestry, involvement with the parish poor was direct and personal. During the course of the history of Truro Parish seven vestrymen were reimbursed for care they provided to the poor. Of these seven, four were reimbursed during their tenure on the vestry.

The parish levies were computed in terms of tobacco most often.¹⁵ Fluctuating values for tobacco complicate attempts to translate tobacco values into specie. Because the minute books for the vestry deal both in tobacco and specie, however, it is helpful to be able to do such conversions. For the conversions in this paper I have used a table devised by Melville Herndon.¹⁶ The table does not list values for every year, only those years for which adequate data was available. The price fluctuations in the table reflect poor crop years, inflation and wartime. During the Revolution many tobacco farmers switched to food crops, thereby adding to the inflated value of tobacco.

III. POOR RELIEF IN TRURO PARISH

The most obvious place to begin a consideration of poor relief in Truro Parish is with a comparison of the number of people on the relief rolls and the number of people in the parish. Although no official record of population exists for the area prior to the 1782 local census, the population can be estimated. A 1749 list of tithables for Fairfax lists 904 total black tithables and 1,123 total white tithables, for a total of 2,207 tithables. By definition, the figures from the 1749 list represent the adult black population, male and female, and the adult white male population. The white segment of the tithable list comprises approximately 59% of the total list in 1749. Using this percentage as a constant, the white population can be determined from the tithable totals listed in the Truro Vestry Book. Furthermore, by using Governor Dinwiddie's estimate that the tithable lists represented one-half of the actual black population and one-fourth of the actual white population, a total population figure can be determined.¹⁷ Because the problems of the black population were not within the scope of parish poor relief, I am concerned only with an estimate of the total white population. The process for determining that estimate for the year 1733 would look like this:

681	total number of tithables for 1733
<u>x .50</u>	percentage of white tithables (constant)
401.79	number of white tithables
<u>x 4</u>	Dinwiddie's estimate
1607.16	

Although this method does not produce an actual account of the white population, it does provide a reasonable estimation of population.

Table 1 lists the estimated white population of Truro Parish for the course of the parish's fifty-three year history. The table also gives the number of poor people who received help from the vestry for a given year. From the figures can be determined the percentage of the white population of Truro Parish that requested assistance from the parish vestry.

TABLE 1
COMPARISON OF TOTAL WHITE POPULATION
WITH PARISH POOR

Year	Total White Population	Parish Poor	Percentage
1733	1,607	7	0.43%
1734	1,596	6	0.37
1735	1,728	1	0.05
1736	1,932	5	0.25
1737	2,392	4	0.16
1739	2,364	4	0.16
1740	2,608	10	0.38
1741	2,652	4	0.15
1742	3,140	4	0.12
1743	3,236	7*	0.21
1744	3,484	6	0.17
1745	3,656	8	0.21
1746	3,940	7*	0.17
1747	4,120	9*	0.21
1748	3,236	14	0.43
1749	2,928	7*	0.23

TABLE 1 (continued)
COMPARISON OF TOTAL WHITE POPULATION
WITH PARISH POOR

Year	Total White Population	Parish Poor	Percentage
1750	2,880	7	0.24
1751	2,892	7	0.24
1752	3,000	4	0.13
1753	3,360	4	0.11
1754	3,468	8	0.23
1755	3,332	2	0.06
1756	---	4	---
1757	3,260	2	0.06
1758	3,348	4*	0.11
1759	3,628	7	.19
1760	3,808	7	0.18
1761	3,752	6*	0.15
1762	3,812	9	0.23
1763	4,264	11	0.25
1764	4,436	10	0.22
1765	2,272	2	0.08
1766	2,196	6	0.27
1767	2,204	5	0.22
1768	2,580	10	0.38
1769	2,572	9	0.34
1770	2,668	2	0.07
1771	2,900	6	0.20
1772	2,972	6	0.20
1773	3,060	11	0.35
1774	3,036	16	0.52
1775	3,216	5	0.15
1776	3,156	3	0.09
1777	5,524	7**	0.12
1778	4,324	9**	0.20
1779	3,204	4**	0.12
1781	3,404	10**	0.29
1784	3,476	23**	0.66
1785	3,372	20**	0.59

*Includes a general allotment for physician's fees

**Does not include funds allocated by the vestry for emergency relief during the Revolution. These funds were not included because there is no evidence regarding how, or even if, they were spent.

It is apparent from this table that the people on the poor relief rolls did not constitute a significant portion of the population of Truro Parish. During the eighteenth century most of Truro Parish was still a rural area. The availability of land, game and wild foods allowed some measure of subsistence living when necessary.¹⁸ There is also some indication of a reluctance on the part of the people to accept aid. Robert Beverly recorded that although any person injured, disabled, aged, or poor was cared for by the parish vestry, "...very few do ever ask for the Parish-Alms...."¹⁹ This is substantiated by Hugh Jones who wrote that "The plenty of of the country, and the good wages given to workfolks occasion very few poor..."²⁰ The problem of increases in the number of poor was greater in the more populous areas of the colony. Not only did people tend to gravitate toward these areas looking for employment, but also the scarcity of available land and wild foods did not permit subsistence living.

Table 1 does provide some insight into the increases in the number of parish poor. An examination of the vestry minutes shows that the number of poor on the rolls gradually increased during the late 1750's and peaked with eleven poor people listed in 1763 and ten in 1764. In 1781, the minutes included ten people on the relief rolls. By 1784, the number had increased to twenty-three and then dropped to twenty in 1785. Although neither war could be blamed entirely for the increases, it would seem that the two wars and the hardships they precipitated did have some effect upon the parish. In a rural, almost frontier, environment, war would result in loss or damage to property as well as a loss of time for homesteading and a loss of manpower.

It must be remembered that the number and percentages of Table 1 represent the segment of the white population that obtained relief from the Truro vestry. In Virginia, large numbers of the poor were removed

from any system of general poor care by the institutions of slavery and indenture. Therefore, although the percentages of Table 1 never reach a level of one percent, they represent a rather select portion of the Virginia poor population.

By examining Table 1 and the vestry minutes certain facts about the population movements within the parish and the county can be deduced. At the laying of the first levy in 1733, the number of tithable persons was 681. This figure can be projected to an estimated total population of 2,166. The next year the number of tithables dropped to 676. This number projects to a population of 2,150. The population increased steadily until 1739, when the decrease is very slight. An upward trend continued throughout the next five years, so that by 1742, the estimated population figure would be 4,232. Increases in the next six years bring the estimated population to 5,549. In 1749, the government divided the parish because of its population growth. This act reduced the number of tithables in Truro Parish to 1,240, giving it an estimated total population of 3,944. This division reduced the population of the parish by approximately 30%. By 1764, the parish list totaled 1,879 tithables (estimated population—5,975). In 1765, however, the parish was divided again. This time the tithable list dropped to 962 names (estimated population—3,058). This division resulted in approximately a 50% reduction in the population of Truro Parish.²¹

A population study of Fairfax County stated that the population grew by 152.6% between 1755 and 1773.²² The growth rate for Truro Parish during the same period is not an accurate figure for comparison because of the 1765 division. However, the growth rate for the period 1765 to 1773 is 134.7% in the parish, demonstrating a population increase comparable to that of the county. The 1765-1773 increase preceded the era when the annual percentages for poor relief rose. This increase in population and the crop failures as a possible reason for the increase in the parish levies.

Annual Poor Relief Allocations

Once the scope of the problem of poor relief has been determined, it is necessary to consider the percentage of the annual parish levy that was allocated for the care of the parish poor. During Truro's fifty-three year history, the annual tithe averaged thirty-four pounds of tobacco per taxpayer. The lowest tithe was set at seven pounds of tobacco in 1735, and the highest at eighty pounds in 1733 and 1770. Although the original tithe for 1733 was set at sixty-seven pounds of tobacco, increased expenditures later in the year forced an increase in the amount of the assessment.

Table 2 lists the percentages and allotments for poor care on an annual basis. From this chart it can be seen that the largest amount was provided in 1765, and the average percentage provided was 16.06%. The decade between 1774 and 1784 demonstrated the most dramatic increase in the amount of parish monies given for poor relief. This may be explained in part by the Revolution, in part by a severe winter one year (1783),²³ and in part by the population increase by that time. It should be noted that the percentages in Table 2 have been computed by combining the tobacco and currency values where necessary.

There are only minor periodic increases in the percentages, as the chart demonstrates. Although the tobacco crop for 1755 was particularly poor²⁴ the vestry minutes give no indication that a large number of parishioners needed aid. Between 1755 and 1758 the vestrymen budgeted for 3-5% of the parish revenues for the indigent.

The early years of the parish do not reflect a large amount of the parish monies being spent on poor relief. Between 1733 and 1743 the average percentage was 5.58%. However, the vestry was responsible for establishing the physical plant of the parish at this time. Therefore, a significant amount of parish monies were allocated for this purpose. This does not imply that the poor of the parish were neglected for the purpose of parish construction. Rather, that the parish budget was raised by the cost of building the parish and that proportionately the amount of monies allocated to the care of the poor may seem to be less.

After 1760, the vestry allocated funds for poor relief in currency more frequently than it had prior to that year. This would seem to indicate a trend toward an increased use of a stable currency. This conclusion may be reinforced by the fact that currency allocations were going to individuals who cared for the poor or to the poor themselves, rather than to physicians who tended the poor professionally. An increased usage of currency by the general populations would seem to indicate that Fairfax County was growing enough economically to sustain a specie currency rather than one based on tobacco prices.

Another possible explanation for the increased use of currency may be traced to what was known as the "Parsons' Cause" during the 1760's. Essentially the controversy centered on a 1755 act that required clergy to take a salary of 16,000 pounds of tobacco, at the option of the local vestry. The real value of the clergy's salary, then, was dependent upon the market price of tobacco for that year. The clergy wanted to be paid in currency rather than tobacco. The Truro vestry's increased use of specie may have been an indirect result of the controversy over tobacco payments.

TABLE 2
ANNUAL POOR RELIEF ALLOCATIONS
FOR TRURO PARISH

Year	Poor Relief Funds <i>Tobacco Currency</i> (pounds)	Total Parish Levy <i>Tobacco Currency</i> (pounds)	Percentage
1733	2,515	45,539	5.52%
1734	2,985	48,728	6.12
1735	800	10,717	7.47
1736	2,550	50,768	5.02
1738	1,601	45,872	3.49
1739	2,150	38,076	5.64
1740	4,134	36,498	11.32
1741	2,300	40,646	5.68
1742	1,700	30,613	5.55
1743	5,106	34,300	14.88
1744	2,550	37,388	6.82
1745	4,390	42,341	10.15
1746	2,458	46,068	5.33
1747	4,630	35,546	13.02
1748	6,776	45,009	15.05
1749	2,530	27,357	9.24
1750	2,925	42,157	6.93
1751	2,161	41,650	5.18
1752	2,300	63,669	3.61
1753	1,600	64,173	2.49
1754	5,194	50,480	10.28
1755	1,600	36,631	4.36
1756	2,200	42,675	5.15
1757	1,178	35,698	3.29
1758	1,120	32,637	3.43
1759	2,925	33,814	8.65
1760	2,480 £ 4.10.00	32,260 Not given	7.68
1761	5,575 £ 21.00.00	42,314 L20.11.11	13.65
1762	4,200 £ 15.01 00	35,552 Not given	11.81

TABLE 2 (continued)
ANNUAL POOR RELIEF ALLOCATIONS
FOR TRURO PARISH

Year	Poor Relief Funds <i>Tobacco Currency</i> (pounds)		Total Parish Levy <i>Tobacco Currency</i> (pounds)		Percentage
1763	5,330	£ 13.05.16½	66,859	£ 15.01.10½	9.78
1964	4,850		60,128		8.06
1765	368		57,720		0.63
1766	3,760		55,860		6.73
1767	2,100	£ 6.00.00	40,713	Not given	5.15
1768	2,820	£ 1.50.00	48,092	Not given	5.86
1769	3,560		68,670		5.31
1770	800	£ 0.11.00	90,480	Not given	0.88
1771	3,917		85,960		4.55
1772	3,900		59,220		6.58
1773	8,400		63,504		13.22
1774	11,042		33,462		13.08
1775	1,500	£ 14.00.00	27,260	£ 106.14.77	13.08
1776	19,170		40,110		17.79
1777	1,800	£ 47.15.00	2,340	£ 54.20.00	69.07
1778	1,000	£ 154.00.07	1,833	£ 184.10.07	76.78
1779	13,740		16,308		84.25
1781	10,600		14,420		73.50
1784	26,075	£ 10.00.00	33,051	£ 33.15.06	78.57
1785	10,050		15,717		63.94

IV. TYPES OF CARE PROVIDED TO THE POOR

Home Care

The figures in Table 2 may be broken down further to define more precisely poor relief in Truro Parish. It was common practice in the eighteenth century for certain members of the community to board or tend the poor or the infirm. Individual needs could be tended to conveniently and

efficiently in this manner. The person giving the relief would be compensated by the parish vestry upon presentation of the expenses incurred.

The aged and the infirm were cared for by members of the parish. Whether this care was provided in the poor person's home or in the home of the provider is not clear from the minute book entries. The duties of this type of care, however, were numerous and varied. Providing basic needs such as food, shelter, and clothing were the first and most obvious responsibilities. If the poor person also required nursing or medical care, these were provided. The obligation extended even to care of the person at death. The vestry book notations included such entries as "To Thomas West for tending Mary Gray in her sickness and burying."²⁵

The care of the poor and the infirm by individual parishioners comprised the major form of poor care in Truro Parish. Table 3 gives the percentage of the total poor care monies that was allocated for this kind of relief. Although there was no provision for such care in 1737, 1780, 1782, or 1783, of the remaining forty-nine years, thirty-one have more than 50% of the parish revenues given to some form of home care. Eight of these forty-nine years have 100% of the revenues so allocated. For the years listed, the average annual allotment was 59.49%. These figures represent the full scope of home care. I have made no attempt to distinguish the separate types of care or the recipients in this chart. The chart is computed in pounds of tobacco.

There are indications in the vestry minutes that monies were allotted for burial of the poor, also. The average percentage of parish monies used for burial was 10.02%. The amounts allocated for this purpose ranged from 2,000 pounds of tobacco in 1733, to 50 pounds in 1775.²⁶ The amounts used for internment represented as much as 100% of the parish poor care funds in 1735 and as little as 0.4% of the funds in 1775.

TABLE 3
POOR RELIEF ALLOCATION: HOME CARE

Year	Funds for Home Care	Total Relief Funds	Percentage
1733	1,315 pounds	2,515 pounds	52.28%
1734	2,385	2,985	79.89
1735	800	800	100.00
1736	2,550	2,550	100.00

1738	1,202	1,601	75.01
1739	2,000	2,150	93.02
1740	2,200	4,134	53.21
1742	1,000	1,700	58.82
1743	1,906	5,106	37.32
1744	1,150	2,550	45.09
1745	1,490	4,390	33.94
1746	1,858	2,458	75.58
1747	3,030	4,630	65.44
1748	3,750	6,776	55.34
1749	1,200	2,530	47.43
1750	2,075	2,925	70.94
1751	1,161	2,161	53.72
1752	1,800	2,300	78.26
1753	1,100	1,600	68.75
1754	5,194	5,194	100.00
1755	1,600	1,600	100.00
1756	1,686	2,200	76.63
1757	678	1,178	57.55
1758	1,000	1,120	89.28
1759	2,225	2,925	76.06
1760	2,080	2,480	83.37
1761	1,050	5,575	18.83
1762	750	4,200	17.85
1763	500	5,330	9.38
1764	1,350	4,850	27.83
1765	368	368	100.00
1766	900	3,760	23.93
1767	600	2,100	28.57
1768	2,070	2,820	73.40
1769	900	3,650	24.65
1770	300	800	37.50
1771	2,017	3,917	51.49
1772	2,400	3,900	61.53
1773	4,900	8,400	58.33
1774	4,042	11,042	36.60
1775	1,000	1,500	66.66
1776	1,800	1,800	100.00
1777	1,800	1,800	100.00
1778	1,000	1,000	100.00
1779	3,000	13,740	21.83

TABLE 3 (continued)

Year	Funds for Home Care	Total Relief Funds	Percentage
1781	5,400	10,600	50.94
1784	2,275	26,075	8.72
1785	250	10,050	2.48

Direct Allotment of Funds

There were times when the vestry found it more advantageous to allocate money for a person's care without providing for actual home care. In these cases the money would be given directly to the individual in need, assuming the individual was capable of handling his own finances. Should it be deemed necessary for someone to manage the person's affairs, the money would be given to a sort of financial guardian or would be overseen by the church wardens.

The vestry most frequently chose to give the money directly to the individual rather than involve either the church wardens or a parishioner as guardian. During thirty of Truro's fifty-three years, individuals were given direct control over the relief funds allocated to them. The largest percentage of monies allocated this way was 81.59% in 1785. In addition, more than 50% of the poor relief funds were individually controlled for the years 1744 (70.58%), 1769 (54.79%), 1770 (62.50%), and 1777 (55.55%). During the 1780's a significant rise in the amounts of monies given to the individual can be noted. This may be explained by two related phenomena: the decline of the Anglican Church and the effects of the Revolution.

The church had fallen into disfavor during the Revolutionary period. As the Commonwealth of Virginia moved closer to the disestablishment of Anglicanism, the vestry may have felt it wide to be less involved in areas that could be considered civil rather than ecclesiastical in nature. Allocating the money directly to the individual did not require the close scrutiny that control by the wardens did. Such allocations somewhat freed the vestry from the problem of church-state relations. The decline of the church during this period may be demonstrated by a consideration of the number of parishes and ministers in Virginia at the time. In 1775, Virginia had ninety-five parishes, one-hundred-and-sixty-four churches

and chapels, and ninety-one clergymen. At the end of the war only seventy-two parishes remained and thirty-four of these had no ministers.²⁷

The situation caused by the Revolution may be considered as contributory to the increase in relief payments of this sort, also. The returning veteran who found himself in need of assistance would not necessarily require supervision of any sort. Both the veteran and the widow of the Revolutionary soldier would seem to be logical candidates for direct allotment of parish funds for aid. Having their lives interrupted by the war could have been enough of a set-back for them to seek some sort of assistance without having to require care by another person or agency.

The vestry did not allocate monies with the guardian in control as often as it allocated individually controlled funds. There are fifteen years in which the budget for the parish note such monies. The largest amount was ordered in 1762, when 42.85% of the money destined for poor relief was in the control of someone other than the needy person. In that year 800 pounds of tobacco was allowed to "...Matthew Bradley for supporting his Son John who is unable to gain his Livelihood, being Bed-ridden & lost the use of his limbs," 1,000 pounds to "...Joseph Wilson one of the poor of this Parish for the support of himself and Wife last year and the present (to be paid to Wm. Payne, Senr. for their use.)," and another 1,000 pounds to Elizabeth Palmer for the care of her son.²⁸ In 1773, only 5.95% of the parish monies went to a guardian. Although payments directly to the individual increased in 1784 and 1785, they decreased in relation to monies controlled by another person. In 1781, 20.75% of the poor relief funds were allocated under this system. This dropped to 7.67% and 7.96% in 1784 and 1785 respectively. Again this may indicate that the vestry preferred to deal directly with the person in need. This preference may be indicative of a desire to lessen complicated involvements in poor relief. It may also indicate an increase in the number of "responsible" people seeking relief. I use the term "responsible" to distinguish these people from those too young, too old, or too infirm to care for themselves adequately.

Care by Church Wardens and Physicians

The vestry placed the church wardens in control of relief funds only during the years 1748, 1757, 1760, 1762, 1763, 1768, 1769, 1771, and 1774. Instructions to the wardens were to provide clothes, medicines, and general care to specific people as they deemed necessary. It is not clear exactly what prompted the vestry to put the funds in the control of

the wardens. Perhaps age, infirmity, or a general lack of self-discipline on the part of the individuals in need was the cause.

Another method of providing poor relief was for the vestry to reimburse doctors for the care they provided the poor. The minute book listed six entries of this type:

1745	1,200 pounds allotted
1749	160
1758	30
1761	3,475
1763	700
1766	1,360

In terms of the total monies allocated to poor relief these figures represent the following percentages:

1745	27.33%
1749	6.32
1758	2.67
1761	62.33
1763	13.00
1766	36.17

These are two notations in the minutes of the vestry ordering medical care for an individual in need. However, there is no mention of parish outlay for actually securing such medical attention. In 1777, the church wardens were ordered to escort a poor child to Maryland to be placed under a specific doctor's care.

Physicians were not limited to medical care in their assistance to the poor. In the November 27, 1758, account of the minutes Doctor Hunter was allotted thirty pounds of tobacco "...for a pair of shoes for one of the poor patients."

Levy Exemptions

It was customary in eighteenth century Anglican parishes to exempt from levy those individuals found to be unable to pay. In the course of the existence of Truro Parish only eighteen people were exempted. An examination of the rolls show that, as a rule, the people exempted from the levy did not appear on the parish relief rolls subsequent to being exempted. Some exceptions, however, can be noted. In 1740, Nicholas Carroll was exempted from the levy. His name appeared on the vestry

rolls for aid in 1742, 1743, 1744, and 1745. *The Fairfax County Will Book* includes a March 19, 1745, order for an inventory of the estate of Nicholas Carroll. The inventory, which was filed on April 15, 1746, recorded the following items:

1 old feather bed & bolster, old rug & blanket	£ 1.4.0
1 old bedstead & old cords, & two pieces of hides	0.4.0
1 old pot & hooks	0.4.0
1 old box & padlock, old crack'd jug	0.3.0
1 old frying pan, old scimmer, old fleshford & tongs	0.2.0
8 cups of old puter & 1 old comb	0.3.6
2 old jackets, 2 pair old breeches	0.16.0
TOTAL	£ 2.15.6

The vestry minutes indicate that Carroll was paid as sexton at Pohick Church in 1739, 1740, 1741, and 1742. It is in 1742 that he first appears on the roster of the parish poor. The funds were given to Carroll directly so there is no indication that he was unable to care for himself.

Richard Kent was declared levy free by the parish vestry in 1751. The reason for the declaration being given as his "being past 60 years of age."²⁹ An inventory of the estate of Richard Kent was filed in Fairfax County on September 28, 1778.³⁰ The value of the estate was listed at £50.0.9.

In 1739, John Currey was declared to be levy free by the vestrymen. He is listed on the relief rolls in both 1744 and 1745. In 1767, John Höllis and Robert Loyd were both listed as levy free and both appeared on the parish relief rolls that same year. It was in 1784 that four children listed as the dependents of one James Grimsley were indentured and Grimsley was listed as requiring financial help. James Grimsley was exempted from the parish levy in 1768. It would not seem likely that a man who was sixty years of age in 1768 would have dependent children in 1784. Therefore, it would seem that Grimsley's release from the parish tithe was based on poverty rather than age.

V. CARE OF POOR CHILDREN

General Care

Poor children in Truro Parish came under the auspices and care of the parish vestry also. The definition of "poor" children was as broad as the definition for the poor in general. Consequently, the parish vestry was

concerned with the welfare of orphan children, ill children, poverty-stricken children, neglected children, and bastard children. To care for these children the vestry of Truro Parish relied on two fundamental systems of relief: the first was a sort of foster parent plan, the second was the indenture system. In the vestry minutes there is infrequent identification of the poor children who were cared for by the parish. It is not possible to say whether or not the omission of the names of the children was an intentional attempt at anonymity. However, of the forty-nine instances when the vestry allocated funds for the care of children, only twelve notations give the child's name or parentage. This is in direct contrast to the notations for indenture, where each child is specifically identified. Such precision in the indenture may be explained by the fact that the deeds of indenture were legal documents and required such precision. In some instances the vestry allocated funds for the care of needy adults and did not identify them. However, these examples do not occur with a degree of frequency comparable to the examples concerning children.

Foster Parent Plan

Orphan children, ill children, poverty-stricken children, neglected children, and children too young to be apprenticed were cared for under a foster parent plan. The arrangements for this type of care did not outline the specifics for raising the child as did the deeds of indenture. There is no indication that the individuals who cared for these children were obligated to provide education, religious instruction, or employment training. The indenture deeds frequently listed such conditions as part of the master's responsibility to the child. The deeds are often very explicit regarding the responsibility of developing the apprentice into a decent, righteous citizen. Perhaps because this foster parent plan was to be a temporary arrangement, it was not felt that such exhortations were necessary. The forming of the child's character would be the concern of the parents if the child was to be returned to them. It must be noted, however, that some of these temporary arrangements lasted anywhere from a few months to a few years.

Table 4 is a representation of the monies allocated for this type of care for poor children. These allocations provided for raising, feeding, clothing, nursing, and educating the child. As with the adult population, if the individual died while in the care of someone appointed by the vestry, funeral expenses were also reimbursed. Because these expenses are extremely variable and are not differentiated in the minutes, such allocations for burial are included in this table.

TABLE 4
POOR RELIEF ALLOCATIONS FOR CHILDREN

Year	Monies for Children	Total Relief Monies	Percentage
1733	515 pounds	2,515 pounds	20.47%
1734	1,735	2,985	58.12
1735	800	800	100.00
1736	1,950	2,559	77.25
1737	901	1,601	56.27
1739	2,000	2,150	93.02
1740	584	4,134	14.12
1741	800	2,300	37.47
1742	300	1,706	17.58
1743	500	5,106	9.79
1745	500	4,390	11.38
1746	500	4,630	10.79
1748	1,900	6,776	28.04
1749	1,000	2,530	39.53
1750	1,000	2,925	34.18
1751	500	2,161	23.13
1752	500	2,300	21.73
1754	1,900	5,194	36.58
1755	600	1,600	37.50
1756	250	2,200	11.36
1759	400	2,925	13.67
1760	1,000	2,480	40.32
1761	1,000	5,575	17.93
1763	2,000	5,330	37.52
1764	1,500	4,850	30.92
1774	500	1,500	33.33
1784	1,000	26,075	3.83
1785	1,650	10,050	16.41

The overall percentage of the parish levy allocated to children was 10.80%. There is a noticeable decline in the frequency of allocations for poor children after 1763. After 1763, only seven notations indicated

allotments for care of children. It is unfortunate that the children who were cared for are unnamed in the vestry records. It is not possible to trace them through any period of time to discover why they were selected for care or what became of them later. However, there are some general trends that develop in the records even if little specific information is available. The only year in which all poor relief funds were allocated for children was 1735. The entire 800 pound allotment went to the care of one child. Because the care was of a child and in-home, this allotment appears on Tables 2, 3, and 4. There are twenty-eight years during which money was given for the care of poor children. In only four of those years did the amounts exceed fifty percent of the parish poor relief monies: 1743 (58.12%), 1736 (77.25%), 1737 (56.27%), and 1739 (93.02%).

The major portion of poor relief for children was given throughout the 1730's. This is also the decade during which thirteen children of the total forty-nine appear on the relief roster. As the Truro Parish/Fairfax County area developed—evidenced through the creation of Fairfax County and the two divisions of Truro Parish—the incidence of poor care for children diminished. It would seem logical to assume, then, that the unsettled nature of the area itself resulted in a significant amount of hardship for children, whether the hardship involved being orphaned, sick, or poor.

Indenture System

The alternative method of caring for poor children was indenture. This involved giving custody of a minor child to someone who would provide the child with certain specified items in return for the child's service for a set amount of time. Until 1749, these indentures were recorded by the vestry. After that date the orders for indenture are found in the court records for Fairfax County. It was the practice for the court to order the indenture and for the vestry to actually apprentice the child. It should be noted that the indenture secured by the parish vestry was for poor children, orphan children, and bastard children only. The vestry was not concerned with the indenture other than as a means of providing for poor children.

Table 5 represents the number of indentures deeded during the 1734-1784 time span. The largest block of indentures was recorded between 1748 and 1763. This fact must be explained in light of the fact that the court record books are incomplete or illegible for 1762 and 1763, unavailable for 1763 to 1767, and unavailable for 1773 to 1783. Unfortunately, this fact does make the graph somewhat incomplete. However, it still

serves to demonstrate how the bulk of the indentures fall. It also should be noted that the largest number of indentures were issued prior to 1763. This is the same period during which forty-two of the forty-nine children listed in the vestry minutes appear on the relief rolls.

A closer examination of the available indenture deeds provides insight into the individuals indentured and the circumstances of the indenture itself. There are records of 109 children bound out during this period. Of these, thirty-three were orphans, twenty-three were bastards, thirteen were mulattoes, five were poor children, and fifty were not identified. There were sixty-two boys apprenticed, thirty-two girls apprenticed, and nine children not identified by sex.

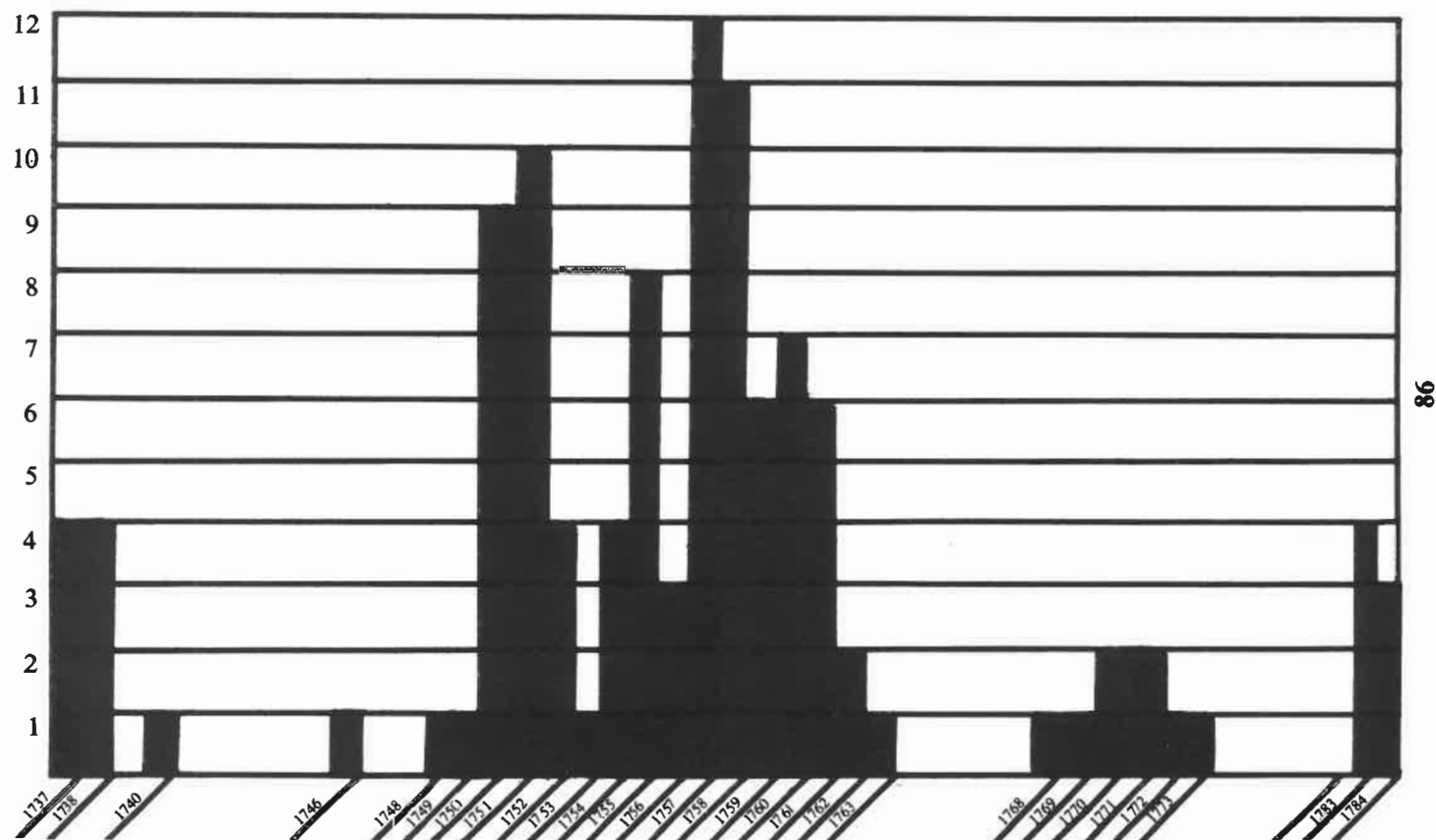
Forty-five of the indentures required that the apprentices be taught to read and write. Of these thirty-eight were indentures for boys, six for girls, and one not specified. There is no definite pattern for requiring that specific children be taught to read and write and others not be. It would seem that the requirement would depend upon the individual child, the master, and the church wardens in charge at the time.

The ages of thirty-five of the 109 indentured children are included in the records. The youngest indentured child was two months old, the eldest was sixteen years. The average age of these thirty-five children was 7.9 years.

The care of poor children was broader in scope than the care provided poor adults. The adult poor in Truro received nursing care, clothing, shelter, and even money. The poor child, however, was given the opportunity to learn a trade and to be educated. This provision added dimension to the care afforded the indigent child. Admittedly, indenture was not voluntary. Therefore, it would seem to be less than a satisfactory answer to the social problem of the poor by contemporary standards. However, in its own time and place, the indenture system served to insure certain specific benefits for the poor child that he might not otherwise have been afforded. It also guaranteed reasonable care for the indigent child and provided some degree of court and church supervision to protect the well-being and rights of the child.

TABLE 5

INDENTURES ISSUED FOR TRURO PARISH



CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this paper I stated that I hoped to be able to deduce certain economic, social, and political facts from a study of the Truro Parish vestry book. Several conclusions, indeed may be drawn from this study. The importance of the poor problem to the civil, as well as the church, government; the system for dealing with the poor problem and its varied implications; and the scope of the care of the poor are some of the facts that have emerged.

The care of the poor was considered to be the obligation of the church authority. Given the intimate relationship between the civil government and the ecclesiastical authorities in colonial Virginia, it would seem that this obligation would fall to both. However, while the civil government could order the poor to be cared for, the physical act of providing for the poor was the church's responsibility.

The Scope of the Poor Problem

Poor relief covered a large number of situations during the eighteenth century. It included the sick, the aged, the poor, the disabled, the mentally incompetent, and the orphaned. Virtually anyone unable to provide for himself for any period of time was eligible for relief.

Truro Parish allocated a significant amount of the annual parish levy to the care of the poor. In the beginning years of the parish, a substantial amount of money was allocated to the construction and maintenance of a parish plant. Given this fact, the parish allocated 5.58% of its total levy to poor care during the first ten years of the parish. The poor comprised 0.21% of the parish population during these ten years. It should be noted, also, that the cost of construction necessarily inflated the amount of the parish budget. This, in effect, caused the amount to be spent on poor relief to seem to be even less.

Economic and political phenomena are reflected in the vestry minutes. Increases in the poor relief allocations occurred following the French and Indian War and the Revolution. Although the minutes did not record the specific reason for an individual receiving aid, the increases following these wars would logically lead to citing the direct effects of war. Another possibility would be the hardships imposed by service in the militia at the expense of tending for the family lands.

Types of Care Afforded the Poor

From the vestry minutes, it can be determined what types of care were available to the parish poor. The most frequently used method was reimbursing a parishioner for tending to the needs of a poor person. This type of care could be provided in the parishioner's home, or in the home of the poor person himself. It included medicine and general nursing care, provision of food and clothing, and burial, if necessary. The person providing the care would submit a record of expenses to the vestry at its meeting to set the parish levy.

Should the poor person be capable of caring for himself, the vestry would allocate funds directly to him. Another alternative was to allocate funds to the individual, but to put the church wardens in charge of the actual disbursing of monies.

Dependent children were sometimes cared for by their parents, but with monies supplied by the vestry under the broad category of poor relief. This was done most frequently in instances where the child was incapable of caring for himself, and incapable of being indentured, too. Reasons for non-indenture were mental deficiency or physical disability.

In all, the types of care open to the poor were adapted to meet the needs of the individual. The vestry apparently considered each case and ruled on it according to its specific needs and circumstances.

Children who were indentured were given specific consideration by the vestry. The deeds of indenture are explicit in stipulating the type of atmosphere in which the child was to be raised. The deeds were also explicit in naming the responsibilities of the apprentice to his master. Requirements for moral training, employment education and schooling attest to the vestry's concern with not perpetuating a cycle of indigency. Whether or not the instructions in the deeds were followed is another matter.

Problems of Identifying the Poor

This study was complicated by several factors that tended to diminish the number of conclusions that could be drawn. For one, some of the minute book entries are ambiguous. This prohibits definite identification of some of the people on the poor list. I was unable to trace them in any other sources because of a lack of a first name or any indication as to the reason for being on the relief rolls. The lack of any record of marriages prior to 1790 prohibits tracing some of the women on the relief rosters through their husbands. Where three or four men had the same surname, positive identification of the wife presents a serious problem.

In light of the problems inherent in this type of study, I believe that the general and statistical data produced justify the work. What has emerged is a clearer picture of the roll of the Anglican Church in the civil life of the eighteenth century. The relationship between the church and the county government has been defined in the context of their interaction with the problems of the poor. Further, the study has defined the pragmatic approach to the care of the poor in eighteenth century Virginia.

FOOTNOTES

¹William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large: Being A Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in 1619* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1822), 1:336. Hereafter referred to as Hening.

²Guy Fred Wells, *Parish Education in Colonial Virginia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923), p. 61.

³*Ibid.*

⁴Hening, 1:336.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Ibid.*, 4:212.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸Hening, 10:287-88.

⁹Marcus Wilson Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1931), p. 182.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 188.

¹¹The Pohick Bicentennial Executive Committee, *Minutes of the Vestry: Truro Parish, Virginia, 1732-1785* (Annandale, Virginia: Baptie Studios, Inc., 1974), p. 1.

¹²Nan Netherton and Ross D. Netherton, *Notes on the History and Architecture of Pohick Church, Truro Parish, Fairfax County, Virginia* (Fairfax, Virginia: Fairfax Historical Landmarks Preservation Commission, 1968), p. 4.

¹³W. M. Clark, ed., *Colonial Church: A Series of Sketches of Churches in the Original Colony of Virginia* (Richmond: Southern Churchman Co., 1907), pp. 108-109.

¹⁴Philip Slaughter, *The History of Truro Parish in Virginia* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Co., 1907), pp. 34-44.

¹⁵William Zebina Ripley, *The Financial History of Virginia* (New York: B. Franklin, 1893), p. 124.

¹⁶Melville Herndon, *Tobacco in Colonial Virginia: The Sovereign Remedy* (Williamsburg, Va.: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, 1957), p. 47.

¹⁷This method for estimating population in eighteenth century Truro Parish was devised by Donald Sweig, Research Historian for the Office of Comprehensive Planning, Fairfax County, Virginia, for a forthcoming book on the history of the county. I am grateful to both Mr. Sweig and the planning office for allowing me to use the method for this paper.

¹⁸Robert E. and B. Katherine Brow, *Virginia 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy?* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1964), p. 47.

¹⁹Robert Beverly, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), p. 275.

²⁰Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia from Whence is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina*, ed. Richard L. Martin (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), p. 88.

²¹These population figures are for the total population, black and white, male and female.

²²Brown and Brown, *Virginia 1705-1786*, p. 16.

²³*Minutes of the Vestry*, February 23, 1784.

²⁴Ripley, *The Financial History*...., p. 90.

²⁵*Minutes of the Vestry*, October 7, 1745.

²⁶The actual allocation was in specie. This figure was converted to pounds of tobacco for convenience.

²⁷Netherton, *Notes*...., p. 5.

²⁸*Minutes of the Vestry*, October 25, 1762.

²⁹*Minutes of the Vestry*, October 14, 1751.

³⁰*Will Book C*, No. 1, Fairfax County, Va., p. 139.

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